

“Teach First” as a Dispositif: Towards a critical ontology of policy and power

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Declaration

I, Patrick Bailey, hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of power. More specifically, it is a study of some of the myriad forms and operations of power which animate and condition the present, and which can be observed in the governing of education policy.

A material post-structural approach to policy sociology is developed and then deployed in exploring the ontology of the education state and the teacher. The thesis puts to work the 'methods' and 'sensibilities' of Foucauldian genealogy and critical ethnography, and in doing so attends to some of the history of power and its insinuations in the governing and administering of education.

Drawing on Michel Foucault's methodological and analytical concept of the *dispositif*, education policy is conceptualised as an historical and contingent formation of material objects, discourses and practices – a *policy dispositif*. At the same time, *dispositif* is applied as an analytical device for investigating the 'micro-physics' and 'immanence' of power, or the different ways in which power operates in minute and molecular ways in individual and heterogeneous encounters. *Dispositif* is also applied as a critical tool for exposing the ways in which the present is conditioned and fabricated within, and by, multiple forces of enablement and constraint.

The thesis explores some of these operations of power as can be observed in a particular site of policy performance and experience: the social enterprise and education charity *Teach First*. This contemporary policy organisation and its particular 'version' of the teacher are placed within a wider and historical field of practices.

A number of different modalities of power are conceptually and empirically animated over the course of the thesis, all of which, it is argued, are relevant for understanding Teach First and the governing of policy and society today. These include what can be described as *government*, *bio-power* and *sovereignty*.

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Abbreviations

AET	Academies Enterprise Trust
ARK	Absolute Return for Kids
AT	Agency Theory
BERA	British Educational Research Association
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
FSM	Free School Meals
GCSE	General Certificate in Secondary Education
GERM	Global Education Reform Movement
GM	Grant Maintained
GTP	Graduate Teacher Programme
HRM	Human Resource Management
ITT	Initial Teacher Training
LEA	Local Education Authority
LDO	Teach First Leadership Development Officer
LDP	Teach First Leadership Development Programme
LMS	Local Management of Schools
MA	Master of Arts
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NCTL	National College for Teaching and Leadership
NEET	Not in Education, Employment, or Training
NPM	New Public Management
NQT	Newly Qualified Teacher
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education
PCT	Public Choice Theory
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
TCE	Transaction Cost Economics
TF	Teach First
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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For Hector

Introduction

Setting the Scene

On 21st September 2012 a policy community came together at London's Southbank Centre for 'a day of debate, discussion and action' about education and educational disadvantage. Each delegate would be 'challenged' to identify their own personal commitment to a mission which claims:

No child's educational success is limited by their socioeconomic background.

Close to three thousand people attended and took part, including educationalists, academics and teachers, alongside representatives of government, the third sector, and capital. The day provided opportunities for 'networking', 'collaboration', and 'learning' amongst the community, and its very materiality lent itself to power. I want to take this event, a conference organised by the social enterprise and education charity *Teach First*, and see where its description can take us as a starting point for understanding the *dispositional ontology* of policy and power in this and other sites, and the governing of policy in the present. Describing a series of 'scenes', I will 'analyze [some of] the elements', and begin to problematize 'precisely what [policy] practice [can] be ... as a regulated and concerted manipulation of relations of power' (Foucault, 2006, p. 20). Some initial analytical and methodological remarks will be made about the study; however the main purpose of this chapter is to introduce the main substantive themes to be taken up in subsequent parts of the thesis. The conference will be returned to again at various points throughout as just one empirical site for a *micro-analytics* of power.

This introductory chapter sets the scene of the study as a whole by introducing the different but related foci of the research and some of the objects of analysis which will be explored in more detail later on. It is arranged into three parts. Firstly, I provide a general overview of the conference, detailing who was there and what they were doing. I then elaborate on some particular aspects of the day by drawing upon some of my own ethnographic descriptions and observations, and by presenting some related textual and interview data.

I describe three ‘scenes’ from the conference: the ceremony, the marketplace, and the pedagogical/enterprising activities. When I speak of ‘scenes’ I mean ‘not a theatrical episode, but a ritual, a strategy, a battle’ (Foucault, 2006, cited in Lagrange, 2006, p. 360), the archaeological study of which can help render intelligible mechanisms and technologies of power. The chapter closes with an attempt to draw these scenes together as a means for launching the analytical trajectories of the thesis. In doing this, some key concepts will be introduced, but I will leave a more detailed discussion of these for later chapters.

Overview

Teach First is a social enterprise with a mission. Its stated aim is to eradicate educational disadvantage by harnessing the individual and collective power of its growing movement of participants, ambassadors and partners. Charged with a sense of moral obligation and certainty, and cultural authority, this community is to help lead in a substantive process of educational change, in part through the ‘stitching together’ (Julia Cleverdon, Opening Ceremony Speech) of a social fabric based on a pattern of enterprise. Selected on the basis of, amongst other things, their ‘leadership potential’, the participants – their bodies and their minds – are subjected to the epistemological orientations of a number of different authorities, including from the worlds of business, through participation on a *Leadership Development Programme* (LDP). They work towards a Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) whilst teaching in institutions which are objectified on the basis of specific criteria – a set of *vital signs* – which mark them and their student bodies (and student’s body’s) out as ‘Teach First schools’ and ‘risky populations’ (and ‘risky subjects’), respectively. As *vital elements* of an organisation which both embodies and articulates the protracted disarticulation of an education state premised upon the principles and rationalities of welfare, these people are some of the new governable and governing subjects of an education state recast in the image of a new liberal normativity.

The programme originally targeted graduates from elite universities, though there is now evidence of a more diverse intake as the organisation expands its operations and human economy. Some are attracted to the promise of exposure to the recruitment drives of partnering organisations. Particularly for the young graduates, ‘keeping the options open’ is just one of the motivating factors behind applying, alongside the

‘prestige’ of the programme, that is, having the ‘Teach First name on your back’. Others apply in response to an ‘inner calling’ to teach or through inquisitiveness and interest in the more ‘social impact’ aspects of the programme, and those who are not recent graduates apply for a change of career and to feel a renewed sense of worth in their working lives. Of course, this is not a matter of either/or, and all of the participants I spoke to indicated a number of different reasons for applying. All were committed to their work and to helping Teach First achieve its aims. What they really think, however, and what their real motivations are is difficult to ascertain. This is because truth is elusive in research interviews, but also, if one believes Nietzsche (2003, p. 72), because ‘Actions are never what they appear to us to be! ... [A]ll actions are essentially unknown’.

Successful applicants become *Teach First participants* – an active, responsible and enterprising subject position – and, upon completion of the two year LDP, ‘graduate’ as *Teach First ambassadors*. After the two year commitment, some stay in schools as teachers, others pursue senior leadership positions, and others use the experiences and contacts they have gained to pursue careers in other sectors and fields, such as in government, policy, business, law, banking, consultancy and social entrepreneurship. A number of ambassadors have started their own social enterprises, including setting-up free schools, and all are encouraged by Teach First to remain committed to the mission wherever their careers have taken them.¹ Others complete their two-year commitment and, either immediately or after a few years, take up positions within Teach First itself, either in full-time or casual roles.

It is hence Teach First and its human economy which forms the loci and critical focus of this study. Although the explorations variously move on and out to investigate policy and power beyond the specific and molecular site of Teach First, it is the practices, discourses and materiality of the organisation, and the subjectivities of the participants, that provide the anchors and grounding for the various analytical trajectories pursued and plotted over the course of the thesis.

The annual Teach First conference which I describe below is an event designed to bring together and consolidate the community. It is an opportunity to reiterate the

¹ Some people do not connect with the organisation and, once they have gained their PGCE, terminate their ties with Teach First. For example, some of my interviewees spoke of friends who had found it ‘too cult-like’ and ‘overbearing’.

purposes of the movement and to maintain affective, social and productive relations. It offers a chance to meet with old friends and colleagues, to participate in activities and seminars to get some new ideas and to learn new things, to reconnect with the Teach First mission, and to hear from 'inspirational' key-note speakers. The conference always includes a marketplace and careers fair, where participants can find out about and speak to different organisations that are either directly or indirectly involved in education and the Teach First mission. Partner Teach First organisations, such as Goldman Sachs and PwC, publicise internship and employment opportunities, sounding out graduates who might have the requisite 'capabilities', 'qualities' and 'talents' to be a success within their business. These organisations also offer ways of staying connected to the Teach First mission beyond being a teacher, for example through mentoring schemes and other forms of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR).

Maintaining the same general formula, the event which I will describe below, *Challenge 2012*, had added significance. It marked the culmination of Teach First's tenth anniversary year, having been officially launched in Canary Wharf in 2002. It was a chance for the organisation to take stock, to reflect on its successes and 'impact', but also to look to the future and to promise to do more. The conference, in this sense, was enthused with a mobilising and responsabilising call to arms. It provided a platform for the launch of the organisation's '2022 impact goals', designed to give measurable purpose to the actions and commitments of the organisation, its partners, and its community of teacher-leaders and ambassadors over the next ten years. The conference was organised and delivered on larger scale than previous occasions, with close to three thousand people converging on the public and cultural spaces of the Southbank Centre for a weekend of learning, problematization, affirmation, and fund-raising.²

Together with the *vital bodies* of the Teach First participant and ambassador corps, the conference community comprised an eclectic mix of actors from across the different domains of civil society. Business leaders were there, some of whom senior employees of partner Teach First organisations. For example, James Leigh-

² The conference was held over a weekend, with opportunities for 'networking' on Friday evening, the main conference on the Saturday, and a charity run on the Sunday.

Pemberton, the Managing Director and CEO of Credit Suisse UK, was a guest speaker and just one of a number of authoritative figures given a platform at different points during the day. The multinational bank Credit Suisse is one of the *Platinum Partners* of Teach First and was the 'lead supporter' and funder of the 10th anniversary year. Representatives of *Teach For All*, the global policy network of Teach First-like social enterprises, were also there, including Wendy Kopp and Shaheen Mistri, founders of Teach For America and Teach For India respectively. Joining them was a fact-finding party from Teach For Australia, comprising participants and staff hoping to learn about 'educational initiatives ... gaining traction in other countries' (TFA on tour Blog). Andrew Adonis was there, a former New Labour Secretary of State for Education and close affiliate of Teach First. Michael Gove, at the time still the Coalition government's Secretary of State for Education, appeared in a video during one of the ceremonies offering Teach First and its community warm endorsement. A number of MPs and members of the civil service were also present, along with a few hundred school children who would take part in debates, perform in front of audiences, and be folded into a complex of power relations. The driving message of the conference was for each delegate to take responsibility for achieving Teach First's *impact goals* and, more broadly, to contribute to the classroom, school, system-level, and ethical transformations deemed necessary by Teach First and its 'friends' for ensuring that 'every young person can be given the same chances in life, regardless of their background':

We are working to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders who create change within classrooms, schools and across society.

(Teach First, website)

A number of 'expert' speakers were invited from the worlds of academia, capital, politics and policy. Some were educationalists, teachers and headteachers, and others were social and policy entrepreneurs. Michael Barber, former education advisor to Tony Blair, former partner and head of McKinsey's global education practice, and currently Chief education advisor to Pearson, a multinational edu-business, acted as a host and an authoritative figure, presenting his vision and proposals for how best to administer an education system fit for the twenty first century. He stressed the importance of 'having courage to take decisions that might be unpopular', of 'taking

account of evidence, not the past but what is out there', and of 'leadership across the board' (opening ceremony speech). Andreas Schleicher of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was there, his presence heralded as something of a coup. His expertise and authority added intellectual clout to the *techno-empiricist, performative* and *transformational* agenda that was articulated throughout the day. He spoke of the need to 'bring innovation to the frontline', that the Teach First corps were 'innovators and game-changers' and that it was quality 'at the point of delivery' along with 'strategy' that was the key to improving performance. Eric Hanushek, American expert on education policy and dubbed in some circles the 'father of the economics of education', offered his own informed opinions, drawing on a career of quantitative research into topics related to 'teacher quality' and 'education policy and economic competitiveness'. At one point he lamented: 'As the internal and external leaders of schools, stand up and be responsible for yourselves and your work [and take responsibility for the] quality of our product'. Sitting together on expert panels at various points throughout the day, Schleicher and Hanushek embodied the regime of competitive market truth which flowed through the Southbank Centre like a temporary tributary from the nearby River Thames. Sat in lofted positions, both symbolically and spatially, the power relations between these *knowing* subjects and the *known* teacher subjects in the audience, whom they addressed and offered fulsome praise, were palpable. Max Haimendorf, Oxford graduate, Teach First Alumni and presently the youngest Headteacher in the country (King Solomon Academy), emphasised the vital compensatory role that schools should play in alleviating society's ills and shaping future generations of *good liberal subjects* of excellence and achievement who strive to 'climb the mountain to university'. Dr Liz Sidwell, current School's Commissioner, spoke of a 'moral imperative' and that she was 'pleased to be here to speak in praise of teachers'. The 'transformational head' of Burlington Danes Academy, Sally Coates, eulogized about the successes of her school, teeming with Teach First alumni and participants, and outlined her own 'surgeon's checklist' of leadership designed to give disadvantaged students 'a chance of survival and success'. Patrick Flaherty of Credit Suisse heralded the virtues and necessities of 'bring[ing] business to the classroom and to mean business', confirming that 'Teach First is involved in this change' by 'investing in leaders'. Ian Brady, a civil servant who works as the Deputy Director of the Troubled Families Team (Department for Communities and Local Government), spoke about 'target[ing] families and turn[ing] around their lives by 2015'. These families, 'that

cause problems in communities and schools', are a 'drain on public resources' and 'cost an awful lot of money'. Wendy Kopp, policy and social entrepreneur, led activities, discussed her experiences as a 'pioneer', and offered practical advice to others whilst all the while punctuating the proceedings with tweets and re-tweets of affirmation and endorsement:

PISA's Andreas Schleicher to TF Alumni:

Every industry has its innovators and changemakers and in education that's you.

(Wendy Kopp, citing (tweeting) Andreas Schleicher, available at: <https://it.twitter.com/wendykopp/status/249525670118567937>)

I now want to look a little closer at what was happening at the event. I will describe three 'scenes' – the opening and closing ceremonies, the marketplace, and the pedagogical/enterprising activities – and, where appropriate, will include some provisional discussion and analysis. I will draw on more of my own observations and some related data to draw out what appeared to me to be some of the core features of the conference and which in later chapters will be explored more broadly in terms of how society and policy is presently governed. I hope to give a sense, moreover, of the constitution of a new *transitional* and *transactional* (Foucault, 2010, p. 297) reality of policy and the subjectivities correlative to it.

Ceremony

Delegates make their way into the Royal Festival Hall Auditorium, which is low-lit and in its usual state of elegance and spectacle. Soft but purposeful music accompanies the scene as people find their seats. Flashes of light as photographers take pictures of friends in conversation, laughing, smiling and enjoying themselves, some natural and others posed. Film crews make last minute adjustments, focussing their lenses upon the large stage at the front where the audience's gaze will be fixed. The big screen above the stage displays images of classrooms, children engaged in learning under the watchful, assured and knowing eyes of a teacher, interspersed with statements and statistics about performance and life expectancy gaps between children from wealthy and poor families. A murmur of expectation rises as the auditorium fills up close to capacity. One delegate turns to her two colleagues and, with more than a hint of irony, asks: 'So, have you been networking?' The doors to the auditorium are closed by one of the volunteers drafted in to ensure the smooth running of the event. The big screen goes silent just for a

*moment. Then, it begins to speak again, delivering the introductory salvo to the Opening Ceremony:*³

1999 - 2000:

4 million young people living in poverty in Britain

UK had the highest poverty rate in the EU

2001:

1.8 million children entitled to free-school meals yet only 3% of all graduates from Russell Group Universities chose teaching as their profession of choice

2002:

Teach First Born

Since then the world has moved on

2003:

myspace, Iraq ...

2004:

X-Factor, facebook, tsunami ...

2005:

youtube, 7/7 ...

2006:

Twitter ...

2007:

i-Phone, Gordon Brown ...

³ Personal notes from field journal.

2008:

£ Crash ...

2009:

Obama, Michael Jackson RIP ...

2010:

Haiti, David Cameron ...

2011:

London riots, Will & Kate ...

2012:

London 2012 Olympic Games ...

In the last ten years Teach First has changed too ...

4000+ participants; 500+ schools; 7 Regions; 14 university partners; OFSTED Outstanding in all 44 areas inspected; nearly 5000 school mentors; 1382 volunteer coaches; 2000+ Teach First Ambassadors, 400+ teaching in leadership positions, 70+ school governors, 70+ Assistant Headteachers, 4 Headteachers; 946 sixth form pupils mentored by 480 HEAPS mentors; 33 social enterprises ...

Supported by 3 main political parties; 66 businesses, individuals and charitable trusts and foundations; HRH the Prince of Wales ...

The community has made an impact; teaching has become a more aspirational profession for top graduates; Schools with Teach First teachers attain higher GCSE results; more than 400,000 young people taught by Teach First teachers

...

BUT ... in the UK the achievement gap between pupils of different socio-economic backgrounds is larger than most developed countries; Children growing up in poorer families emerge from school with substantially lower levels of educational attainment ...

Together this community has the power to close the gap; You have the power
to close the gap;
Time for change ...
Teach First.

(Video available at: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/challenge2012>).

This opening presentation is particularly interesting as a concerted and strategic discursive practice. Before giving a few more details about the two ceremonies, I would like to briefly pause to reflect on the discourses appropriated here as they give a good insight into the tone of the event, and are also indicative of the more general discursive practices of Teach First and how it articulates an ensemble of hegemonic educational and policy discourses.

We are firstly presented with some *vital statistics* on population (4 million young people living in poverty; the UK has the highest poverty rate in the EU; 1.8 million people entitled to free school meals yet only 3% of all graduates from Russell Group Universities chose teaching as their profession of choice). Leaving aside for the time being the *bio-political* mechanisms here, there is a problematic constructed, yet the relationship is unclear: poverty is rife in the UK and the teaching profession doesn't attract 'top' graduates from elite Russell Group Universities. This seems to suggest that there might be a relationship between the two – teachers are being problematized but also instrumentalised/mobilised. Teach First is 'born' – a significant deployment of *vital* terminology which I will be returning to – and we are drawn into a discourse of globalisation, with all the related uncertainties and insecurities, but also the possibilities, that this new world brings (since then the world has moved on; Iraq, tsunami, 7/7, £crash; myspace, i-phone, twitter). A liberal-humanist discourse of progress is articulated alongside affirmations of technological and cultural transformation. Political consensus around Teach First and its global partners is

indicated (Obama, Gordon Brown, David Cameron, supported by 3 main political parties). We are made to feel uneasy but also secure; uneasy due to threats to security (London Riots, 7/7, Iraq) but secure in timeless certainties and a discourse of nation (Will & Kate, London 2012). This is a competitive and proud nation, capable of delivering spectacle on the global stage. There is a juxtaposition of the normal and the abnormal, the exception and the rule, the healthy and the pathological – *liberality* and *illiberality*. The vitality of Teach First is emphasised (Teach First has changed too); this is an ‘agile’ (Gillies, 2011) organisation that moves with the times and has a place in this new global and modern, but also problematic, world. It is *alive*. A powerful and well-trodden discursive ensemble of performance, accountability, leadership and enterprise (Ofsted Outstanding, schools with Teach First teachers gain higher GCSE results, the achievement gap) is interwoven with a worldly discourse of salvation in relation to the growing and transformational movement of Teach First teachers and ambassadors (4000+ participants, 2000+ Teach First Ambassadors, 500+ schools, 400+ teaching in leadership positions, 4 headteachers, 33 social enterprises). This is an effective, committed and expansive movement of individuals. They are responsible leaders with the capacity to transform the fortunes of schools and the lives of disadvantaged young people, confidently, assuredly and compassionately leading the flock as enlightened shepherds in an uncertain and precarious world. They are role models to the conduct of the young and disadvantaged, and embody and must proselytize the truths of a liberal and neo-liberal normativity (more than 4000+ young people taught by Teach First teachers). Any current Teach First participant in the audience is left in no doubt as to their responsibilities and obligations, and of the *telos* of the investment in their bodies and minds (you have the power to close the gap). This saviour discourse also presupposes a discourse of derision (Ball, 1990), or at least, it is suggestive of the unsuitability of the conduct of ‘traditional’ educational practitioners. Finally, there is an incitement to ‘change’ (time for change – Teach First) which is indicative of how Teach First is positioned, and positions itself, as an instrument in a process of policy, educational and social transformation.

The opening ceremony was hosted by a Teach First ambassador. As a former participant of the programme, this person was a visible exemplar to those in the audience of what can be achieved – many of these people had only just begun their two year ‘journey’. As detailed in the conference brochure, the host had quickly

climbed the leadership pole, earning the responsibility of assistant principal at a city academy. Now no longer in teaching or educational leadership, the ambassador has been absorbed back into Teach First as an employee and spokesperson. She introduced the themes of the conference, and launched the 'impact goals' and the five policy 'challenge areas' which would be problematized over the course of the day. A number of guest speakers were invited to speak for a few moments, including some of those mentioned earlier, such as Michael Barber and Sally Coates. The participants and ambassadors were hailed as 'change-makers' and key agents of reform in a 'global movement but also an individual movement' (Cleverdon, speech). At one point, Julia Cleverdon, Teach First trustee, Special Adviser to the Prince's Charities, and renowned figure in Business and the Community, spoke of 'the collective effort to bring about change' and that 'we have seen change in poor communities'. She then gave the example of a school which had 'only recently raised its achievement game' through the work of an 'inspirational head' and a cadre of Teach First participants and ambassadors. As statistics documenting the measured improvement of the school were presented, the audience responded with cheers and applause. This was the model to be pursued, the kind of truth under which one must and will be judged.

The ceremony was punctuated with a number of video clips presented on the big screen at the front of the auditorium. These consisted, firstly, of school children talking about their futures and what they aspire to be, and, secondly, of some recent school leavers – 'case studies' as they were called – talking about the barriers they had faced at school and at home, and which might have prevented them from succeeding. These school leavers, selected by their Teach First teacher as 'inspirational' cases, were invited onto the stage one after the other, as Youth Co-Chairs, to announce how their aspirational dreams had, through their own hard work and initiative, and with the guidance of their Teach First teacher, been made into a reality – rapturous applause greeted the news that they had applied and been accepted to study at elite universities:

Good morning and welcome to Challenge 2012. This past decade has afforded me the distinct honour of having seen hundreds of young people grasp the opportunities available to them, maximise the moments that were afforded to them while still navigating staggering challenges and barriers that often brought me and my colleagues to our knees ... I stand here as a member of our society who shares the belief that every child has the undeniable right to have

the best possible educational experience our country has to offer ... If we really are to move towards the vision that sees no child's educational success being limited by anything, and especially not by their socioeconomic background, then really, what needs to change?

(Opening ceremony host, TF Ambassador and employee)

Following an afternoon of activities, 'networking', and learning, which I turn to in a moment, the conference community came back together for the closing ceremony. It was an opportunity to collate and publicise some of the ideas and commitments which had been shared and developed over the course of the afternoon in response to the question uttered above: *what needs to change?* Indeed, as one of the closing ceremony hosts remarked, it would be a 'distilling [of] the collective wisdom of everyone [here] today' (James Westhead, Teach First Director of External Relations). A number of delegates volunteered or were called upon to share what they had learnt and to voice their commitments to the mission. These pledges of allegiance, delivered under spotlight in the low-lit, emotive and grand space of the Royal Festival Hall Auditorium, were received one after the other by warm and jubilant applause by the audience, which again filled the auditorium close to capacity. Other commitments were posted on a 'vision wall' which was on display throughout the duration of the conference (and which remained on the Teach First website for a number of months).⁴ Individual speeches by, and staged discussions with, authoritative figures were interspersed with edited images which appeared up on the big-screen. These images sought to convey the fervour of the day and of the community. They showed delegates engaged in discussion and debate, or learning and problem-solving under the leading tutelage of an 'expert', often depicted with pen in hand and annotated whiteboard behind. Delegates were shown either smiling and having fun, or looking thoughtful and focussed. This is a dynamic community, so the narrative was sewn, of proactive people and organisations that collaborate and work together, who commit their energies and their passions to tackling 'educational disadvantage' and who, together, have the answers and the ideas, and the capacities and resources for educational change. The ceremony concluded with a short but keenly anticipated speech from Brett Wigdortz, the hero of this policy community and leader of Teach

⁴ Available at: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/visionwall>

First. Here he would declare that 'change is possible' and that it was down to each and all present to 'turn our dream into a reality'.

Market

Navigating myself around the market, I encounter a bewildering range of organisations with representatives standing eagerly in anticipation to market jobs, products and services, or to provide information about their engagement in the 'mission'. Moving around anticlockwise, stalls appearing one by one, left and right, it was a labyrinthine space of 'opportunities', 'morality' and 'enterprise': GCSE Pod, United Learning, Goldman Sachs, Civil Service Fast Stream, Future Leaders, O2 Learn, RM Education, IBM, Sainsbury's (2020 Leader's Programme), Access Project, New Schools Network, Accenture, Aldi, Credit Suisse, Teaching Leaders, ARK Schools, Promoting Equality in African Schools (PEAS). It went on. Anointing both the market below and the exchanges and transactions it would incite and elicit, a large white banner hung conspicuously above. In big, bold and blue lettering it repeated: No Child's Educational Success is Limited By Their Socioeconomic Background.⁵

Installed across the second floor of the Southbank Centre, a marketplace was given both symbolic and material pride of place at the very heart of the conference. A heterogeneous mix of private, third and public sector organisations had pitched up stalls, offering information, services, and opportunities to interested delegates:

At the very centre of things, this is where you can meet new people and organisations who are working towards the vision that no child's educational success is limited by their socio-economic background. You can also find out about enterprises you can support and get new ideas about how to continue working towards the vision after Challenge 2012. There will be more than 50 stalls with ideas about what addressing educational disadvantage might look like for you.

(Conference Brochure)

The market comprised a graduate recruitment fair, an education fair, and an education marketplace. The graduate recruitment exhibition provided opportunities for Teach First participants to speak to potential employers, such as PwC, Goldman Sachs or Accenture, to find out about recruitment schemes, internships and vacancies. One

⁵ Personal notes from field journal.

participant told me in an interview about these graduate exhibitions, which always feature at the conference:

It[’s] organisations that might want to recruit people currently on the Teach First programme, when they finish their two years, just pitched up. It was like a recruitment fair basically I suppose, where you can just find out about these organisations who might be hiring. Some of them are educational organisations and some of them are, you know, PriceWaterhouseCoopers and stuff, and that kind of thing. So yeah, it was basically, as far as I was aware, just a big sort of recruitment fair so you can get a few ideas about what you can do after the two years.

The education exhibition showcased a number of social enterprises and educational organisations. Schools were also represented, such as Quintin Kynaston Academy, along with organisations like ARK and Future Leaders, partner organisations of Teach First. The exhibition enabled these new civil, educational and social entrepreneurial organisations to market their services and ‘products’, contextualising them within the moral, legitimate, and ‘necessary’ transformational agenda. ARK, which runs a growing chain of academy schools across the country, used the opportunity to sound out potential recruits, targeting Teach First participants and ambassadors.

ARK Schools, one of the top-performing multiple academy sponsors, was set up in 2004 to create a network of high achieving, non-selective schools where all pupils, regardless of their background or prior attainment, achieve highly enough by age 18 to have real choices: to go on to university or the career of their choice.

By joining the ARK network, you will be working alongside colleagues who share your commitment to this vision.

(Conference Brochure)

The education marketplace consisted of private companies offering information on educational goods and services, or others presenting initiatives which enabled their specific brand of products to be recognised with the modernising agenda and the mission. The RM education stand, for example, offered information on its private IT services and school resources:

We develop, manufacture, install and manage hardware, software, IT networks and services and classroom resources all specifically designed for schools to help deliver inspiring and engaging learning.

Schools and local authorities outsource their IT to RM and we also provide systems that help mark exam papers, deliver school performance data and enable access to learning platforms from home or school. Our customers include schools, colleges and universities, local government, central government education departments and agencies.

(Conference Brochure)

O2 Learn, a subsidiary project of the international telecommunications company O2, showcased its online lessons webportal, described as an attempt to construct 'Britain's biggest classroom':⁶

O2 Learn wants to help connect people to great teaching. We're building a video library of great revision lessons, from teachers across the country. At O2 Learn we believe that great teaching should be available to everyone, regardless of their socio-economic background. With this in mind, we are proud to be a Supporting Sponsor of 'Challenge 2012'.

(Conference brochure)

Adjacent the main marketplace was a 'school fete' consisting of various stands and fun games led by start-up entrepreneurs, many of whom Teach First ambassadors. One was a social enterprise called RISE which aims to raise money for educational initiatives in India. Another, Enabling Enterprise, commits to 'embed[ding] practical learning and enterprise skills throughout the whole curriculum'.⁷ The fete offered delegates the opportunity to speak to social entrepreneurs and 'hear about how they are addressing the vision and what you might do to launch your own enterprise' (Conference Brochure).

There are a number of things than can be said about this part of the conference, some of which will be taken up in later chapters. For now I want to stress the fact that it was a genuine marketplace – at the very centre of things – and an enterprising space where delegates could find out about products and services available for teachers and schools, information about internships and future job opportunities, and information about new educational organisations and institutions. There were representatives from corporations, social enterprises, the civil service and various businesses and banks.

⁶ O2 Learn also offers schools the chance to attend day trips with groups of students, such as the 'Think Big School', where digital, problem-solving, team-work and creative skills are developed.

⁷ <http://www.enablingenterprise.org/>

These very material and economic interests were interwoven with the responsible, proactive and 'moral' agenda of the conference, epitomised most succinctly by the mission statement hanging boldly above the marketplace. In this regard, the marketplace symbolised rather well what Rose (2007, p. 27) calls a 'moral economy of hope'. That is:

[T]he hope for the innovation that will treat or cure stimulates the circuits of investment. Hence the ethos of hope links together many different actors – of actual or potential sufferers ... of scientists and researchers for a breakthrough that will make their name and advance their career ... of biotech companies for a product that will generate profit, of governments for industrial and commercial developments that will generate employment and stimulate economic activity and international competitiveness.

Of course, the context is different here. This was not biotech companies and doctors seeking a cure for and a profit from a medical disease, but rather edu-businesses, banks and Teach First teachers/ambassadors searching and innovating for a 'cure' for educational disadvantage, whilst all the while making an enterprise of themselves. Another point to make here is that the exhibition and marketplace comprised such a range of organisations and agencies that it constituted what might be termed a 'convergence of worlds'. Indeed, how has it become possible, or necessary, for such an array of public, private and third sector organisations to be involved with such authority in the governing of policy and the education state? What does this material disposition of elements tell us more broadly about how society is governed today? These are some of the questions that I take up over the course of the thesis.

Enterprising/pedagogical activities

Wow, what, a, day,

*Who would have thought there would be so much going on when you walked through
those doors,*

*The day has been so full of activities; the organisers deserve a massive round of
applause.*

*I've heard many discussions and plans to help improve student education,
There have been talks on many subjects, right down to Student/Teacher relations.*

*I never realised until today how much work and effort is put in,
To ensure that our countries education doesn't end up in the bin.*

*It seems that a lot of people have a voice in improving education, students included,
I am very pleased to see how many of you have come together to help improve this,
There has been something for everyone, from creative writing to a classroom of the
past,*

The experiences of the teaching profession here today have been so vast.

*I took part in a workshop that looked at the needs required to change the fortunes of
our schools,*

With so many ideas it made me realise, there really are no hard and fast rules.

I then went to one called "I am young and I am winning",

The inspiration in there left my head spinning.

*I have realised there are no barriers that can't be overcome to achieve what we want
to do,*

*And it's down to all of us to ensure that children have the chance to make their
dreams come true.*

As you travel home across our nation,

Remember those three words said this morning by Sir Michael Barber,

"Education, Education, Education"

Wow, what, a, day.⁸

This poem was written and performed (during the closing ceremony) by a primary school pupil who had attended the event. It reiterates some of the discourses noted above, and I believe it captures rather well what was happening on the day.

Over the course of the afternoon the conference opened out into an assortment of activities, which delegates could book their attendance on prior to the event. The idea was to offer a genuine choice of activities so that a conference 'journey' could be

⁸ Poem by school child, available at:

<http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/TFNews/UxbridgeHighSchoolPoetLaureatecommemoratesChallenge201236070.aspx>

personalised by each delegate. In promotional and informational material sent out before the conference, delegates were challenged to identify their own particular capacities for making a meaningful contribution to at least one of five different ‘challenge areas’. These had been identified by Teach First and its partners as key domains and objects of problematization in the realisation of the mission. The five different ‘challenge areas’ were launched in accordance with the following questions:

- What’s the role of teachers?
- What’s the role of school leaders?
- What’s the role of parents and communities?
- What’s the role of business and non-profit organisations?
- What’s the role of policy and decision-makers?

With more than fifty to choose from, the activities were designed to assist the delegates in finding ‘an answer to the big question: What’s YOUR role in addressing educational disadvantage?’ (Conference brochure). These activities were coded and delivered in a number of different ways (see *Figure 1.1.*). Some were ‘discussions’, where panels of ‘experts’ offered their thoughts, diagnosed problems, and articulated how things are and should be, answering questions either verbally delivered from the audience, or electronically put to them in the form of tweets. Other activities were more hands-on and practical, such as workshops concerned with setting up free-schools or social enterprises. These activities were led by ‘successful’ individuals, including policy/social entrepreneurs, ‘transformative’ heads, and ‘leading’ figures from different sectors. Another set of activities set out to tackle issues through problem-solving and collaboration. Amongst these activities were sessions problematizing the role of school governors, to ones focussed on how to nurture ‘aspiration’ amongst disadvantaged children in order to ‘raise achievement’.

The following is just a small selection of the activities which ran over the course of the afternoon. I include where possible the ‘authoritative’ figure(s) who led each activity:

- Taking the Lead on Systemic Change within Your Own Community: What’s Your Role? (led by Wendy Kopp, founder of Teach for America and Co-founder of Teach For All)

- Building Financial Literacy for Young People (led by NatWest)
- How to Start a New School (led by the New Schools Network)
- How to Transform a Challenging School (led by the Head of a partner Teach First school)
- Social Enterprise Clinic: Starting a Social Enterprise (led by social entrepreneurs and 'experts')
- From Aspiration to Achievement (group led, with input from successful young people)
- How to ... Educational Leadership (led by a range of middle and senior leaders)
- I am Young and I am Winning (led by 'young leaders')
- How to Build a Vision and Strategy for Your Organisation (Led by a McKinsey & Company Director)
- How to Get Business and Schools Working Together (led by Clore Social Fellow Jamie Audsley, and drawing on research from Deloitte)
- Transforming Learning through the Power and Reach of Enterprise Learning
- Driving System Reform (led by Michael Barber)
- Leaders in All Fields (led by the Teach First Leaders in All Fields team)

These activities were collaborative, practical, informative and hands-on (how-to, problem-solving, discussion). They presupposed an active subject with capacities, indeed obligations, for learning, enterprise and innovation. Inscribed into the very flow and materiality of the event, then, was a delegation of responsibility onto each and all, and that was a responsibility for self and others. A structured field of possible action was laid out in the incitement to enterprising and economic solutions, a structured field also illustrated well by the marketplace described above. The delegates, in their individual and moral capacities, were empowered and endorsed as critical agents in the transformational agenda. The conference was hence a technology of responsibilisation and agency (Dean, 2010) which linked the governing of and by the education state, to the valued and self-governing capacities of the delegates. In other words, the practices of the conference illustrated what I have termed elsewhere a *policy governmentality* (Bailey, 2013).

This *policy governmentality* folds the foundational and mobile objectives of the state and the internal self-reflexive critique of its own governing legitimacy,⁹ in with the enterprising, economic and ‘life enhancing’ practices and choices of individual subjects. It also characterises the ‘enfolding’ of the values and norms of civil society – through choices and pedagogy – into the governing of the state and practices of political sovereignty (Dean, 2007).

ACTIVITY TYPES

Activities are coded to explain whether the format will be *discussion* ☐, *problem-solving* ☐ or *how to* ☐*.

After you have registered for Challenge 2012, you can select your activities online using the username and password you will be emailed. Numbers are limited for most activities so sign up early to avoid missing out.

All activities are open to all delegates, so don't be afraid to sign up for anything you think will help you to find an answer to the big question: What's YOUR role in addressing educational disadvantage?

* **Discussion:** A chance to discuss the challenge with other delegates and experts and brainstorm solutions. These activities will range from small to large group discussions. ☐

* **Problem-solving:** These activities will draw on evidence and examples of good practice to challenge you to come up with practical, workable solutions to the problems that young people face. ☐

* **How to:** These practical, skills-based activities will challenge you to think through your ideas and identify clear, achievable ways to address educational disadvantage in the coming weeks, months and years. ☐

CHOOSE YOUR ACTIVITIES:

The following might help you to get the most out of the day by attending the best and right mix of activities for you:

1. CHOOSE A MIX of 'Discussion', 'Problem-solving' and 'How to' activities - this will help you to develop your ideas through the day and leave with a firm commitment about what you can do
2. LEAVE ENOUGH TIME to get lunch, network or catch up with old friends and new acquaintances and to visit the careers and education exhibition and the other ongoing activities
3. THINK about the following:

Pick an activity that will help you to SOLVE A CHALLENGE within your context

Pick an activity that will enable you to LEARN MORE about a topic you don't know much about

Pick an activity that will help you to NETWORK WITH OTHERS WITHIN YOUR PROFESSION

Pick an activity that will enable you to NETWORK WITH OTHERS OUTSIDE OF YOUR PROFESSION

Pick an activity that will enable you to NETWORK WITH OTHERS WITHIN YOUR REGION

STAY FOR THE EVENING and enjoy the entertainment taking place on level 2, network with other delegates and continue the conversations from the day across Royal Festival Hall.

Figure 1.1. Conference Brochure: Activity Types

⁹ I will return to the paradox of neo-liberalism later on, alongside the notion of ‘rationalities’ and ‘rationalisations’ of government.

Incited to 'choose', to 'personalise', and to discover 'what educational disadvantage might look like [to them]', the Teach First community were interpellated, in this particular space, as autonomous agents in the governing of policy and society. This is the liberal production of freedom which, nonetheless, is 'well-regulated' and 'responsibilized' (Barry, Osborne and Rose, 1996, p. 8). Truths of enterprise and the competitive market, the epistemological bedrock, as we will see in **Part 1**, of neo-liberal political rationality, were manifested amongst others in the very materiality of the conference activities and marketplace. They were articulated as the master keys, that is, as both the end and the means to solving problems of educational disadvantage, and bio-political and security concerns associated with 'illiberality'. In this *policy governmentality* there is a convergence of, on the one hand, living one's life in accordance with the virtues of 'maximum economy' and personal affirmation, and on the other, contributing, in whatever choices one makes, to a necessary, urgent and morally legitimate process of educational reform. Indeed, as I will explore, these are some of the new ethical and moral (and authoritarian) subjects of the post-welfare education state.

In the next section I outline how the thesis proceeds from here. I point up the main substantive themes to be explored, and offer some initial but brief comment on the methodology and some of the key concepts of the study.

The Deployment of the Thesis

In this discussion I want to bring together some of the different elements of the scenes described above. I will do so at the same time as laying out the structure of the thesis – its deployment, if you like. Whilst I will give a sense of what is to come, this is in no way a complete nor definitive outline of the content of the thesis.

The thesis is divided into three substantive parts, each consisting of two chapters. Following the present chapter and the proceeding methodology, the first part, **Disposition**, explores the idea of policy as a *dispositif* of heterogeneous discursive and non-discursive elements, historically constituted and contingently articulated. The first chapter of the section traces a parallel genealogy of truth, power, and subjectivity, illustrating how policy and, more broadly, the governing of and by the (education) state has been constituted and practised in different ways at different

times. In other words, the focus here will be on the history of power, including how transitions in rationalities of government have and continue to be implicated in the governing of policy and society, that is, in the crafting and ontology of what I term *historical policy dispositions*. I begin with the ‘proto-governmentality’ of Christian pastoralism and then move on to consider the ‘reason of state’, liberalism and welfarism. I also offer a brief introduction to the arts and crafts of present day neo-liberalism and contemporary modes of network governance. The second chapter considers more closely the contemporary policy terrain. It identifies some of the material, discursive, technical, and regulatory elements of a *neo-liberal policy disposition*. I isolate and interrogate the dominant regime of truth at the heart of contemporary policy and governmental practice, and in particular the truths of enterprise and the competitive market – key artefacts of German and American neo-liberalism. This regime of truth, which I annotate as a *diagram of power* in terms of logic, material architectures, and subjectivities, organises a ‘grammar’ through which policy and its governance is transacted. Here I will give some examples of how this diagram has been manifest in the material-discursive transformation of the policy terrain over the past quarter of a century or so. I also consider policy across a number of different scales of practice, from the global, the national, the local and the institutional/individual, and will identify the OECD and its PISA programme as important artefacts/elements of a (global) disposition.

The conference illustrated this disposition rather well. It was evident in the different exhibitors in the marketplace, representing the worlds of capital, social enterprise, and the public and voluntary sector – just some of the new authorities folded into the governing of policy today. Moreover, the enterprising, economic and performative ethos and agenda of the day manifested the truth regime of the competitive market. This regime was further embodied in the authority and words of Andreas Schleicher of the OECD, and academics like Eric Hanushek, in their invocations to techno-empiricism, such as raising school performance and inciting competition within and between educational systems. Whilst my concern is in many ways with how policy is disposed within the molecular context of Teach First, I am also interested in how a *diagram* of broader relations of power flows through and constitutes the particular *dispositivity* of the institution (see next chapter). As Foucault (2006, p. 15) argues, it is necessary to put to one side the institution as an historical given and central locus of

power, and to identify and untangle ‘the relations of force in these tactical arrangements that permeate institutions’. The heterogeneity and micro-specificity of the *dispositif* is thus tempered by considering these *diagrammatic* forces which in some ways amalgamate *micro-dispositifs* in a macro-formation of policy and government, and perhaps in places, domination.

The second part of the thesis, **Transformation**, takes up some of the themes introduced in the previous part, but does so by focussing more closely on Teach First as a *dispositif* of power – that is, as ‘a configuration or arrangement of elements and forces, practices and discourses, power and knowledge, that is both *strategic* and *technical*’ (Burchell, 2006, p. xxiii). It is broadly interested in the epistemological, material, affective and subjective transformations of the education state. The first chapter of this part explores the programmatic alliance between Teach First and political authority, and more specifically interrogates how the organisation forms part of a process of neo-liberalisation. The idea of the *enterprise form* as one of the diagrammatic ‘meta levels’ of the *dispositif* will be investigated further by analysing the Teach First *Leadership Development Programme* (LDP) and how it aims to make and shape a neo-liberal form of teacher. I draw particular attention to the ways in which Teach First installs, embeds and joins up an arsenal of interrelated technologies of government: the market, managerialism/leadership and performativity. The second chapter of this part looks more closely at the micro-politics of the Teach First teacher, and focuses down on the more molecular transformations of the education state by exploring the subjectivities of the participants, and their experiences of the programme. It develops the idea of Teach First as a governmental and affective technology which *activates* and *solicits* ways of living and being. To be more precise, it tries to illustrate and explore some of the immaterial practices of Teach First, that is, how Teach First solicits an *aesthetics of existence* in different sites of engagement – such as the conferences and other events – and through various media. It also explores the affective basis of liberal government and some associated post-Fordist practices and capital-work relations, and briefly notes some of the continuing import of disciplinary power in the policing of subjectivity and conduct in the contemporary Enterprise.

The final part of the thesis, **Vitality**, explores some of the bio-politics of education policy. The first chapter analyses the *problem-space of government* within and in

relation to which Teach First intervenes into urban communities and, hence, manages sections of the population. This will be to theorise Teach First as a *dispositif of security* which plugs into the broader ‘securitization of threat’ characteristic of liberal rule. This securitization concerns active programmes of negation against what could be termed ‘illiberal’ subjectivities which are constituted as the ‘reverse side’ to the forms and conducts of ‘good liberal’ citizenship. I also attend here to the shepherd-flock relation between Teach First (teachers) and the *disadvantaged child*. The conference, again, provides a window onto these bio-political processes and mechanisms: Teach First and its concern with educational disadvantage; the statistical rendering of populations during the opening ceremony, which informed, and were informed by, concerns for health and economic vitality; the ‘Family Intervention Programmes’ explained and supported by a civil servant during one of the debates; and the moral and missionary overtones of saviour and redemption.

The second chapter of this final part critically engages with some new ways of thinking about bio-power and sovereignty. Drawing on the work of Nikolas Rose, and especially his concept *ethopolitics*, I investigate how developments in the life sciences are implicated in new forms of government and bio-politics. For Rose, *ethopolitics* represents a new molecular form, if not displacement, of bio-power, and is further associated with novel and emergent forms of community-based governmentality. This includes both new conceptions of the bio-political body and governable subject, and involves the fostering and fabrication of particular ‘social’ life-forms, community-based politics, and ethical subjectivities and social relations. Indeed, the conference described above was an affective and ethical site which brought together an ostensibly ‘autonomous’ community of different actors ‘working together’ to solve educational problems. In thinking about Teach First in this way, however, I will be careful not to prescribe too readily to the optimistic tones with which such a politics is often received and presented.

Developing the theme of molecularization, I conceptualise the Teach First application and assessment process as a *technology of animation* whereby potential recruits are incited to speak the truth about themselves in accordance with authoritative criteria. I will argue that in some ways, the very logic of the competency-based assessment process – and the LDP more broadly – animates an affective and ‘neuronal’ (Pitts-Taylor, 2010) conception of the self, and that is in the form of the ‘emotionally

intelligent' and 'resilient' teacher-leader. At the same time, I also explore the *Teach First assessors* – generally Teach First ambassadors who have left the teaching profession – as delegates of sovereignty who police the threshold to the Teach First world. This world is governed by strict criteria (competencies, values) around what kind of 'life' is suitable for the programme – both to be *effective* and to *survive*. In trying to apply and develop the idea of sovereignty in this chapter, I respond in a modest way to Dean's (2007, p. 15) call for 'the radical and urgent necessity of rethinking sovereignty today', and especially its continuing importance in liberal practices of rule. Finally, I attend to the apparent colonisation of ecological discourse by liberal reason, and note some of the implications of this for the bio-politics of the teacher, the *disadvantaged child*, and political subjectivity. The conclusion suggests, amongst other things, that Teach First disarticulates the welfare state, in part, by soliciting and shaping (and fabricating) *competent-resilient-agile-individualised-enterprising* life-forms, over and against *secure-professional-committed-collective-vocational* life-forms.

Running through these three substantive sections will be a number of key concepts and tropes, which I will discuss in more detail later on. One is Foucault's (1992) triangle '*sovereignty-discipline-government*'. This serves to indicate the heterogeneity of power. Dean (2007, p. 14) argues that it is becoming increasingly necessary to 'recover the ways in which power relations might take different and heterogeneous forms that enter in variable relations and recombinations with one another'. He continues: 'Among those forms, zones or modalities of power are government or governance, and sovereignty and bio-politics' (p. 14). As I have tried to give at least some indication of, a number of modalities of power animated the conference, finding support in its architectures and practices, and which were embodied within the authoritative claims and discursive practices of a number of expert speakers. This thesis is in many ways a study in and of power, and although I try to *isolate* some different modalities and relations of power through the organisation of the thesis, it will become clear that such an exercise is difficult, if not impossible. This is not a problem, however, because the concerted nature of the analysis, that is, the reoccurrences, continuities and variable recombinations of power which emerge across the different substantive and empirical parts, points to the complexity of the study and ontology of power today, including in the governing of policy, self and

others. The point is to render more visible this complex 'topology of power' (Collier, 2009) in order to inform ways of subverting it.

A final word here on the concept *dispositif* and its analytical potential. This will be carefully detailed, amongst other things, in the next chapter. For now it will suffice to say that *dispositif* foregrounds three axes or 'lines' (Deleuze, 1992) of analysis and critique: truth, power and subjectivation. I suggest that these different axes can be applied in studying Teach First and the wider policy terrain. They were evident, for instance, at the conference: there were 'lines of visibility' making objects be seen in particular ways (disadvantaged communities/students/schools; leaders, entrepreneurs, transformational heads, ambassadors); there were axes of truth constituting what could be sensibly said and done, and which authorised particular speakers and speaking positions (performance, enterprise, leadership; statistics, economics, 'what works'); and there were 'lines' of subjectivation in the interpellation of the delegates as active subjects of policy participation, that is, as 'leaders', 'innovators and change-makers', and 'moral custodians'.

There is much more to say about this and other things. I do so in part in the next chapter where I outline the methodology of the study and the more practical aspects of the research.

Methodology

Over the course of this chapter I want to outline a *material post-structuralist* approach (Bailey, 2013) for understanding and analysing education policy. Central to this approach is Foucault's concept of *dispositif*, which articulates together his relational and productive conception of power, and his analytical and philosophical commitment to archaeology and Nietzschean genealogy. By attending to these and other concepts from Foucault's 'toolbox', my aim is to offer a material-discursive conception of policy, and to attend to the main epistemological and ontological assumptions of the study. I will clarify how theory is intersecting with 'method', and give a sense of the critical ethos of the research. More practically, I also want indicate how I went about doing the research, to which I made some initial reference in the opening chapter.

This chapter is organised into three substantive parts. The first part explores what I mean by material post-structuralism, and begins by offering some initial remarks on Foucauldian genealogy and archaeology, and some associated concepts. I then unpick some of the finer detail of Foucault's concept of the *dispositif*, and demonstrate with a broad example how this concept might be useful for understanding and analysing education policy. This section concludes by sketching a rough framework for an analytics of policy and power which co-ordinates across and along the three axes of the *dispositif* – truth, power and subjectivation. The second part describes the more practical aspects of the research, and more specifically the ethnographic and genealogical techniques deployed. I will also note here the limitations and ethical considerations of the study, and offer some comment on the 'dangers' and 'possibilities', as Tamboukou and Ball (2003) put it, in staging an encounter between genealogy and ethnography. I then offer some brief remarks on the *critical* study of governmentality, and how ethnography and genealogy can inform such a project. The final part of this chapter attends to the political possibilities of Foucault and how this animates my own research. I revisit the art and practice of genealogy, and, in particular, how it is underpinned by a politics of immediacy and revocability. I also indicate how the study embraced the idea of concept production as a 'way of life' (Foucault, 1980b), and note how this can take the shape of a democratic, collective and creative means to a critical and effective end (Dean, 2010).

Whilst below I will be identifying and explaining some key methodological and analytical concepts, it should be added that I will leave room, where necessary, for some further reflection and elaboration for later points in the thesis. Other concepts and literature will also be introduced and operationalised at appropriate points in subsequent chapters.

Material post-structuralism

Initial considerations

This thesis is an exercise in material post-structuralism (Bailey, 2013). Drawing selectively upon the philosophical, conceptual and analytical ‘toolbox’ of Foucault, this is an approach which pays close attention to material forms, social practices and discourses, and their interrelations. It is interested in the historical and contingent couplings of knowledge and power, and how these productive encounters manifest in material practices, objects and subjectivities.

A material post-structuralist approach recognises a ‘pre-discursive’ reality. However, this ‘reality’ is not and perhaps cannot be the focus or object of analysis (Dean, 2010). Any attempt to describe or access this pre-discursive reality would always be inflected and mediated by discourse. The material post-structuralist – a particular kind of subject, it must be said – can try to obtain some distance from the phenomena he/she describes (i.e. through genealogical enquiry), but can never operate completely outside of their own historical *a priori*. Schwartz (2003, p. 165, citing Foucault, 1961, p. xxiii) notes: ‘inasmuch as the *a priori* of resemblance coordinates the propinquity of identities for a given culture, Foucault maintains that an episteme “makes manifest the mode of being of order”’.

Whilst Foucault was not a structuralist, he does maintain a limited structuralist position in assuming a disconnection between language and its referents, that is, between, on the one hand, what is thought and said, and on the other, the true ‘nature’ of things. This is to say that there is no necessary or obvious relationship between the signifier and the signified. However, language and discourse are not one and the same thing. Language can form the material expression of discourse (i.e. statements and ‘things said’), but discourse is more like the organising ‘unit of grammar’ which structures the possibilities for meaningful communication, perception and

understanding. Discourses ‘mobilise truth claims that constitute rather than simply reflect social reality’ (Ball, 2010a, p. 5), and establish and organise subject positions ‘from which people are “invited” (summoned) to speak, listen, act, read, work, think, feel, behave and value’ (Gee, Hull and Lankshear, 1996, p. 10). Discourses converge around actualities, and, like relations of power, are more ‘bottom -up’ or ascending, than ‘top-down’ or descending. Madness is a good example: there is more than something to it, but the understanding or ‘truth’ of what that something is has varied over time. The same can be said about other objects of thought and intervention, including policy, as I come back to below.

Whilst discourse does not project or communicate a ‘true’ representation of reality or nature, this is not to say that it is a synonym for ideology. Crucially, however, discourses do have material effects and consequences. Olssen (2014, pp. 34-36) notes:

For Foucault, then, language, discourse, and thought, were always theorized as belonging to an autonomous realm, separate from the being of the physical world ... Foucault consistently conceptualized the discursive as an ontologically autonomous domain which interacts with the practices of the non-discursive.

Foucault was interested in *how* culture, subjectivity, and objects of knowledge are constituted, organised and transformed through the dynamic and contingent interplay between discourses and material practices. His conceptual and methodological tool *dispositif* captures this orientation, and is critically applied in my own study as a key device for a critical ontology of Teach First, the education state, the teacher, and, more broadly, the policy present. *Dispositif analysis*, if one can call it that, is undergirded by this perspective on the contingent and fabricated ‘nature’ of social reality and subjectivity. It is also a ‘method’ in itself for exploring material-discursive articulations, including their (mobile) contours and ‘effects in the real’. I will be addressing the *dispositif* as both concept and method in more detail below.

For the time being, we can broadly say that this kind of analysis embraces Foucault’s commitment to archaeology and genealogy, along with his ‘productive’ and ‘capillary-like’ conception of power. For Foucault, power (with small ‘p’) is not so much a thing or an essence which is held by some and not others, but is rather a relational and productive set of forces operable in any given society through an ‘array of determining elements’ (Allen, 2014, p. 60). The point is less to determine *what*

power is so much as to analyse *how it operates*. Power is ‘a set of procedures, and it is as such, and only as such, that the analysis of mechanisms of power could be understood as the beginnings of something like a theory of power’ (Foucault, 2007, p. 2).

In terms of genealogy, Foucault (1984, p. 78) is at some pains to stress ‘that there is “something altogether different” behind things: not a timeless and essential secret, but the secret that they have no essence or that their essence was fabricated in a piecemeal fashion from alien forms’. A focus on power and history, then, accompanies Foucault’s genealogical turn, with his historical analyses grounded in investigations of the empirical interplay between discourses, material culture and social practices, that is, the ‘inscriptions in the real’ of the ‘conditions in which we are led to problematize what we are, what we can and should do, and the world in which we find ourselves’ (Dean, 1996, p. 225). Genealogy explores the history of power and social practices, and discloses our own inauthenticity. It ‘expose[s] a body totally imprinted by history’ (Foucault, 1984, p. 82) and aims to disrupt the certainties, necessities and ‘fictions’ of the present by offering ‘a critique of our own time, based upon retrospective analysis’ (Foucault, cited in Simon, 1971, p. 191). I revisit this critical ethos in the final substantive section below.

According to Olssen (2003, p. 194), Foucault conceptualises culture, then, as ‘not simply a system of signification but a system of material and discursive articulation. In this, genealogy puts an emphasis on power rather than knowledge and practices rather than language’. Moreover, Foucault was interested in the ways in which discourses are shaped and transformed, but also how they ‘shape everyday existence’ (Olssen, *ibid*, p. 195), and that is, in part at least, how they ‘form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). They do this by constituting and organising what can be thought and what can be said, and hence soliciting the obvious, the sensible and the necessary.

It is important to underline that this kind of analysis does not make claims about the true nature of Being or social reality, but instead attends to ‘the problematizations through which being offers itself to be, necessarily, thought – and the practices on the basis of which these problematizations are formed’ (Foucault, 1985, p. 11). This is to explore the ways in which material culture and subjectivity are ‘invested with

meaning' (Dean, 1995, p. 566), and draws upon Heidegger's point that '[t]he question of the meaning of Being must be formulated' (Heidegger, 1978, p. 45).

A material post-structuralist analysis is both diachronic and synchronic, and roughly entails a threefold methodological strategy. Firstly, it prescribes to a critical *genealogical* understanding of history, and that is to say that history is contingent, open and discontinuous, and that social transformation (as opposed to historical progress or development) arises or emerges out of complex, indeterminate and complex/chaotic conditions and confrontations between diverse, dispersed and disparate forces. Secondly, it is characterised by an *archaeological* interest in – or, indeed, excavation of – the rules or grammar of statement (énoncé) production of particular moments in time, including the contingent ordering of the authority of truth claims and the people entrusted and/or obligated to speak them. Thirdly, it entails a form of analysis which investigates 'events', practices and particular sites or domains, in my case, education policy, and more specifically *Teach First*.

Whilst I refine and develop this strategy later on below, I want to underline for now, in accordance with the initial epistemological and ontological points made above, that *Teach First* is approached and analysed in this study as not only a particular and context-specific domain of policy practice and social existence/experience, but also as a complex artefact, instrument and technology of power. It is also for this reason that this study stages an encounter between genealogy (diachronic) and ethnography (synchronic), and I will try and justify the logic behind this towards the end of this chapter.

This is a good time to briefly try and revoke the charge that Foucault was a relativist, if only to clarify the ontological assumptions of my own research. Foucault does not, as some have argued, propose that objective truths do not exist, and nor does he uphold 'that everything is a matter of interpretation' (Veyne, 2010, p. 16). Veyne makes the point, in fact, 'that nothing could be further from the truth ... Foucault favours a kind of hermeneutic positivism: we can know nothing for certain about the self, the world or the Good, but between ourselves, whether living or dead, we can understand one another' (p. 16). The point is to begin with the assumption that universals are a myth, but not to steadfastly reject the possibility of objective truth.

This constitutes a ‘nominalist’ philosophical and analytical position which ‘refuses to take as “given” anthropological universals’, such as sexuality, race and madness, and also traditional historical and political figures like the ‘state’, ‘sovereignty’ and ‘the people’ (Falzon, 2013, p. 293). Whilst this nominalist perspective and form of critique constitutes part of the real creative force of Foucault, and there are strong comparisons with Max Weber here, it should be added that he was honest about the limitations of his ‘method’ and epistemology, and, indeed, would often revisit his previous work with both modesty and a sense of embarrassment (see Olssen, 1999; Veyne, 2010). It is this sceptical but not obstinate ethos of critique which underpins Foucault’s work.

[I]nstead of deducing concrete phenomena from universals, or instead of starting with universals as an obligatory grid of intelligibility for certain concrete practices, I would like to start with these concrete practices and, as it were, pass these universals through the grid of these practices ... I start from the theoretical and methodological decision that consists in saying: Let’s suppose that universals do not exist.

(Foucault, 2010, p. 3)

When I say that I strive to avoid it, I don’t mean that I am sure of succeeding. My procedure at this moment is of a regressive sort, I would say: I try to assume a greater and greater detachment in order to define the historical conditions and transformations of our knowledge. I try to historicize to the utmost in order to leave as little space as possible to the transcendental. I cannot exclude the possibility that one day I will have to confront an irreducible *residuum* which will be, in fact, the transcendental.

(Foucault, 1996, p. 79, as cited in Olssen, 1999, pp. 75-76)¹⁰

A central principle of this thesis is that education policy is open to genealogical critique. Another is that what policy is at any particular moment in time is a complex of contingent relations of power manifest in material-discursive articulations, and in human and extra-human interactions. This very particular, *material-discursive* conception of policy, which will be explained more fully below, is interested in the emergent, contingent and effective/affective forms in which discourse and power

¹⁰ Foucault said this in an interview with Giulio Preti in 1979. Interview available in *Foucault Live* (1996).

manifest in policy objects, architectures, subject-ivities and practices. These material and anthropological forms articulate, shape and are shaped by discourse and power, they are their 'instruments and effects' (Lazzarato, 2009). From this perspective, policy is 'live'; it is dynamic, shifting and productive, and not *overdetermined* by a single force or logic. However, this is not to ignore the 'terminal forms power takes' (Foucault, 1998, p. 92), such as states of domination, or the fact that certain ideas and discourses can become hegemonic. Policy is saturated by power and can be codified and regulated, but this is not to say that it is not open and revisable, revocable and transformable. As Foucault argued (*ibid*, p. 101), discourse

can be both an instrument and effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it...

If it is accepted that (material) culture, subjectivity and even bodies are produced, sustained and transformed through the mutual and reciprocal, historical and contingent articulations between the material world and discourse, then it is these articulations 'in the real', whether at the micro, meso or macro level of abstraction, that form the object of critique and analysis. Moreover, it is in this sense that one needs an understanding of power and knowledge (and truth) that stresses the productivity of the former and its intersections with the latter. Veyne (2010, pp. 32-33) notes:

knowledge is a justification for power, power sets knowledge in action and, along with knowledge, a whole set-up [*dispositif*] of laws, rights, regulations and practices, and it institutionalises the whole thing, as if it constitutes the truth itself ... A set-up thus cheerfully intermingles things and ideas (one being that of the truth), representations, doctrines and even philosophies with institutions and social and economic practices, and so on. All this is impregnated by the 'discourse' of the day.

Power produces (policy) objects of knowledge and constitutes (policy) subject-ivities from where people can speak sensibly about both themselves and, for example, education, and to do so with authority, legitimacy and sense. It is in this way that we can think about education policy, for instance, as a truth game: 'Objectivization and subjectivization "are not independent of one another; it is their mutual development and reciprocal connection that produce the truth games"' (Veyne, 2010, p. 87, citing

Foucault, 1994, p. 632). These truth games are played around both physical and metaphysical ‘entities’, such as ideas (for example, how education is constructed as some kind of ‘social good’), problematizations and solutions (for example, populations in need of intervention; a certain ‘attitude’ needed to be fostered/nurtured within students and workers such as teachers; a particular ‘kind’ of school, or even a mode of teacher training), and the self (such as practices of truth-telling and processes of subjectivation, including what it is to *be* a good citizen or a teacher). Foucault (1994, as cited in Veyne, 2010, p. 95) argues that a *dispositif*, in the intermingling of power, truth games and knowledge (and practices and rules of knowledge production), acts ‘with a degree of efficacy that brings about results and so produces something in society; it is destined to have some effect’. Veyne (2010, p. 95) elaborates: ‘[The *dispositif*] is not limited to affecting the objects of knowledge; it acts upon both individuals and society ... Not that the truth-games are nothing but a disguise for power-games but certain types of knowledge, in certain periods, our own included, may contract relations with certain powers’. An overarching question for this thesis can hence be put as:

- What types/forms of knowledge have contracted relations with power in policy processes?
- Or, to put it slightly differently: what types/forms of knowledge have contracted education policy relations with power?

Let us now take a look at the *dispositif* in more detail, including how it might be applied to theorising and analysing education policy.

Dispositif

Concept

Dispositif is arguably an under-utilised concept in Foucauldian educational research. It can be viewed as ‘an interpretive key ... [that] touches on Foucault’s theory of history, his theory of power, and the ontological Nietzschean underpinnings of his analysis’ (Bussolini, 2010, p. 88). It is a multifaceted concept which stresses the primacy of fluid, productive and mobile relations of power which, in partnership with knowledge, intersect, permeate, modify and produce subject-ivities in concert with material objects and practices. Discourse remains important; however it is the move to

consider its interaction and conjunction with material culture that constitutes at least part of the novelty of the concept. Olssen, Codd and O'Neil (2006, p. 53) note:

In *Discipline and Punish* ... Foucault observes how punishment cannot be derived solely from the force of the discourse, for torture, machines and dungeons are material, and have meaning because of the ideology of punishment ... [T]he social forms of discipline and punishment represent a synthetic and relatively autonomous compound of knowledge and technique and material objects. The developments of the prison, the clinic, the mental asylum are thus the outcomes of this multiple articulation.

From this perspective, institutions like schools, prisons and asylums – and we can also add *Teach First* – are material-discursive articulations of power. That is to say that these 'objects' are material artefacts of power, but also conduits through which 'invisible' channels of power find traction – they constitute the material expression of power relations. This dual focus on discursive practices and material forms, according to Gottdiener (1995, p. 73), differentiates Foucault's work from post-structuralist and postmodern writers who 'have ignored the interrogation of material forms'. Indeed, it was put to Foucault in an interview that he reduced social reality to discourse; his reply is informative:

You are attributing to me the idea that the only really analysable element, the only one which is available to us is discourse. And that, as a consequence, the rest doesn't exist. Only discourse exists ... In fact, it doesn't make any sense to say that only discourse exists.

(Foucault, 1994b, p. 637)

Foucault therefore needs the concept of the *dispositif* in order to account for extra-discursive dimensions of reality. It is for this reason that Foucault (ibid, p. 299) describes the *dispositif* as:

A resolutely heterogeneous combination of 'discourses', institutions, architectural edifices, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific pronouncements and philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions: in short, both things that were spoken of and things that were not.

A *dispositif* (whether of discipline, sexuality, security, policy, etc.) can thus include a whole range of institutional and discursive, but also regulatory and moral elements and practices. Furthermore, Foucault distinguishes between *molar* and *micro*

dispositifs which, as Silverman (1985, p. 88) suggests, allows interrogation across the ‘macro/micro split’. So, for example, whilst a heterogeneous, productive and ‘singular’ formation of discursive and non-discursive elements of education policy can be (albeit partially) plotted (a *molar-dispositif*), it is also possible to identify within this ensemble hegemonic codifications and configurations, and also individual mechanisms and tactics, such as organisations, programmes, or events (micro-*dispositifs*). I suggest that these ‘individual’ elements can be analysed in terms of their particular and context-bound *dispositivity*. By *dispositivity*, I simply mean the specific local characteristics, dispositional ontology, discursivity, genealogy and performative function of particular institutional or situational elements, allowing for complexity and a certain degree of indeterminacy. However, the *dispositivity* of an element will always be in some kind of (dis)concert (be it mutual or antagonistic) with other elements of the wider formation and its hegemonic/dominant themes, discourses, rationalities and practices. Power (2013, p. 529) argues:

This conception of the apparatus [*dispositif*] is an attractive methodological device for transcending traditional analytical dualisms between micro-macro, internal-external and local-central and allows organisations ... to be understood as fluid networks of elements and as permeated by ideas and practices which are assembled and deployed by various actors.

Transcending such analytical dualisms, however, does not mean demonstrating how *micro-dispositifs* or particular policy objects, like *Teach First*, simply or necessarily replicate the discursive and strategic drive of an all-encompassing macro structure. Indeed, such an undertaking would be anathema to the genealogical ‘method’. On the contrary, Foucault (1998, pp. 99-100) clarifies:

There is no discontinuity between them, as if one were dealing with two different levels (one microscopic and the other macroscopic); but neither is there homogeneity (as if the one were only the enlarged projection or the miniaturization of the other); rather, one must conceive of the double conditioning of a strategy by the specificity of possible tactics, and of tactics by the strategic envelope that makes them work.

The relationships between the micro and macro levels of a *dispositif* are therefore complex, and one is forced to admit that there is a limit to, or at least limitations on, the extent to which this can be accessed, traced and understood. That is to concede, on the one hand, that ‘The analysis of power is embedded within a framework that it cannot fully perceive or comprehend’ (Allen, 2014, p. 67), and on the other, that one

can only offer a partial interpretation and analysis. This notwithstanding, we can say that the strategic and the tactical are able to condition and affect one another, not least because it is individual tactics which may be coagulated into strategies (i.e. the ‘mobile effect’ of the state, the fashioning and mobilising of an education system from existing practices and infrastructures), and that strategies form the conditions of possibility for tactics which, in a further possible move, may be brought to bear upon the forging of new strategies – a kind of ongoing tête-à-tête between the strategic and the tactical. This means that *micro-dispositifs* can be tactical and strategic elements of a more general strategic drive or ‘envelope’, but also that there is a negotiation or transaction of sorts between the macro (strategic) and the micro (tactical) level. This interaction can be understood perhaps less in terms of Gramsci’s hegemonic ‘compromise’, to put it rather crudely, and more as a productive confrontation between agonistic and contingent forces, or dispersed power relations – a blind yet intentional social ‘alchemy’, as Popkewitz (2004) might put it. It is in these agonistic encounters – their codification and co-optation – that government is made possible, and power operable, but also in which possibilities may open up and emerge for transformation and ‘flight’ (a form of resistance and agency which is, nonetheless, internal to relations of power). The potentially innumerable points of resistance, tactical interplay and strategy which perpetuate across and permeate a formation thus contribute to its ontology and contingent development, although these contributions may not always come to their intended conclusion or conform to their programmatic blue-print or initial imperative. Foucault qualifies, on the one hand, that ‘Where there is power, there is resistance’ (Foucault, 1998, p. 95), and on the other, that ‘their cannot be relations of power unless the subjects are free’ (Foucault, 1988a, p. 12). Deleuze (1992, p. 159) explains:

The lines in the apparatus [*dispositif*] do not surround or encircle systems that are each homogenous in themselves, the object, the subject, language, etc., but follow directions, trace processes that are always out of balance, that sometimes move closer together and sometimes farther away. Each line is broken, subject to *changes in direction*, bifurcating and forked, and subjected to *derivations*.

The *dispositif* is therefore an always precarious singularity, which carries within it ‘seeds’ of indeterminacy and alterity. That is to say, as Allen (2014, p. 66) puts it: ‘The excesses of tactical relations and the perpetual failures of strategic power to

codify these tactics (power is always a failing project) leave room for power to outgrow and explode its current configurations’.

I admit that this is all rather abstract. Allow me to make a similar set of points, but this time through the specific case of education policy as a strategic and socio-technical formation of government. This will, of course, be developed in more detail, yet still only partially, over the course of the thesis, but an initial and broad example will be useful for now.

The Contingency of Education and the Mechanics of Policy Regulation

Underpinning the methodological argument being made here is a particular conception of policy, which I will come back to, but also a commitment to the idea that education should not be thought about as a universal, or as an ahistorical set of institutions, processes, philosophical mores and practices (see, for instance, Allen, 2014; Deacon, 2002; Hunter, 1996; Popkewitz, 2013). Rather, education is considered as always in a process of becoming, constituted in different ways at different times according to the differential multiplicity of forces, discourses and knowledges which act upon and constitute it as both an *idea* and a *material and governable field* of practices, culture and meaning. Thought about in this way, education has an imminent/immanent ontology, that is, it is always in the process of being made and remade within singular limits of knowledge and understanding. This thesis necessarily extends to concrete and corporeal educational structures and practices, and also to the individuals who inhabit, experience and embody these as workers and ‘learners’, such as teachers, ‘leaders’, students, academics, policymakers etc. The meaning of education, its strategic logic and its ontology, is therefore always in a state of potential flux. Education has no inherent or necessary logic and meaning in and of itself; its logic, meaning and materiality are all a construction and product of reciprocal and historical articulations of discursive and non-discursive practices, as they have converged around particular and multiple problematizations.

These discursive and non-discursive articulations are contingent and potentially transitory – in some senses they are arbitrary, in that discourses and contingent relationships appear by chance and through unpredictable chains of ‘events’. This is not to say that there are not consistencies, overarching trajectories and commonalities

of meaning and practice in education over periods of time – quite clearly there are when one traces its genealogy over the past century and more, as will become clearer later on. Further, this does not mean that there are not reversals, alternative views, ‘battles’, conflicting agendas and contradictions within education at a particular point in time. Throughout the welfare period, for example, there were antagonisms towards, and compromises in instituting, comprehensivisation and other more ‘progressive’ policy moves like non-selection and child centeredness, which perhaps diluted or diverted some policies and educational practices from developing in ways that they otherwise might have. In a similar way, at the moment there are local resistances to *academisation* and *insecuritisation*, and, in a different but related sense, policy has returned in some important respects to the philanthropic and enterprising form it took during the nineteenth century and up to the post-war ‘consensus’ in the 1940s. The point is that education is both contingent upon a number of forces, and always a contested space of meaning, practice and ‘government’.

The *governing* of education policy is therefore a contested practice which nonetheless administers education as a set of *regulated* activities, practices and processes. Following Lazzarato’s (2009) distinctive usage of the term in relation to the economy, regulation refers not only to restriction, limitation, protocol and control, but also to institution and constitution. Education in this sense, and to a certain degree, can be understood as a set of practices and processes which are regulated, in part and in different ways, by and according to strategies and mechanisms which are designed in the image of, and characterised by, what could be termed hegemonic or dominant discourses.¹¹ I say in part because this is not a simple process of determinism, as argued more schematically above, but rather a complex, in many ways chaotic process involving interplay between, on the one hand, hegemonic strategies, dispositions and knowledges, for example those pertaining to liberalism and its different historical forms (classic, social, neo), and the associated rise of the ‘economic’ and ‘human’ sciences, and on the other, alternative tactics and knowledges, individual histories, (micro-) political agendas and creative and reflexive practices – those Deleuzian *derivations* I referred to above, or ‘counter-conducts’ as Foucault calls them (Foucault, 2007). When considering the great disciplinary *dispositif*, and more

¹¹ It should also be noted that these practices and mechanisms play a part in shaping the discourses and in the discourses becoming hegemonic/dominant.

specifically the *micro-dispositif* of the prison, Foucault, for example, suggests that such historical indeterminacies were evident in the unforeseen effect of the formation of a cultural milieu of criminality, as opposed to the controlled subjugation and training of individual bodies, as the disciplinary discourse had prescribed:

What did this apparatus [dispositif] produce? An entirely unforeseen effect which had nothing to do with any kind of strategic ruse on the part of some meta- or trans-historic subject conceiving and willing it ... What happened? The prison operated as a process of filtering, concentrating, professionalising and circumscribing a criminal milieu.

(Foucault, 1980a, pp. 195-196)

Nonetheless, there is a *degree* of regulatory effectiveness to these mechanisms and *dispositifs* which is palpable and observable. Such regulation is not solely based on the power to refuse, condemn and limit, but also and perhaps more importantly, on the power to allow, incite and produce. However, this is not to 'sanitise' this productive power and to treat it, theoretically, as necessarily more palatable than some of its more 'diabolical' cousins, such as sovereignty. To activate and animate, as I will come back to later in the thesis, may also be to dispense with, undermine and violate.

Education policy is itself a 'positive' regulatory process, or a socio-technical formation of government. Once again it is necessary to be clear about terminology; by policy I not only mean formal legislation, institutional directives and prescriptions – although these are important elements (along with the words, themes and discourses they may contain), of policy as a 'multi-linear ensemble' (Deleuze, 1992, p. 159) – but also processes and outcomes. Policy should not only refer to written and codified instructions or rules, such as policy documents, which are intended to guide conduct and practice, but should also denote complex processes of policy enactment, policy advocacy, policy influence and policy practice. In this way it is possible to explore how policy is *disposed* and *performed* in different material sites in different and contingent ways. In this sense, then, policy refers not only to formal codes and directives from a central authority, but also to a multiplicity of 'material' and 'technical' forms such as specific programmes, practices and institutions, like public sector reform and *Teach First*, alongside, for example, practices of advocacy, sponsorship, strategic support, and finance, which enable, endorse and shape such programmes and material and technical forms.

Ball's (1993) distinction between 'policy as text' and 'policy as discourse' is relevant here because it draws attention to the idea that policies are 'contested', mediated and differentially represented by different actors in different contexts (policy as text), but that they are also constrained by taken-for-granted and implicit knowledges and assumptions about the world and ourselves (policy as discourse). Also important here is the empirical and theoretical distinction which can be drawn between the heterogeneous discursive and non-discursive practices and mechanisms, or *micro-dispositifs*, which differentially function within policy processes. So, for example, on the one hand there is the increasing pervasiveness of education 'knowledge companies', and the strategic roles of, and networks between, think-tanks, advocacy groups, institutions of capital and beyond – a heterogeneous *disposition of policy* – which contribute to the constitution of an expansive terrain upon and through which ideas, knowledge and discourses about education can be generated, promoted and transmitted. On the other hand, these discursive practices, in turn, are both enabled by (financed, endorsed, legitimated) and articulated or embodied within non-discursive practices, that is, concrete enactments and practices at the level of, for example, teaching, teacher training, school administration, school management/organisation and policymaking (see, for example, Ball, 2012). Although certainly not mutually exclusive, the distinction here refers to the ways in which policy is produced and performed both *semiotically* and *substantively* through a discursive and administrative delimitation of what can be 'said' and what can be 'done' about its 'problems' at a particular time.

Lazzarato (2009) is useful here as he refers to these mechanisms as *dispositifs* of power. He argues that their affectivity and productive regulatory capacities actively produce the social and are brought to bear upon the governing of individual and collective conduct. Lazzarato (pp. 112-113) hence draws a notional distinction between discursive and non-discursive *dispositifs*:

[N]on discursive dispositifs or practices intervene on what one *does* (possible of probable action), whilst discursive practices or dispositifs intervene on what one *says* (possible or probable statements) ... Discursive and non-discursive practices are ceaselessly interwoven and together produce our world and the relations that constitute it.

Although I understand *dispositifs* as always both discursive and non-discursive (as opposed to being either/or, but nonetheless intertwined), and take issue with Lazzarato's apparent conflation of *dispositifs* and practices here, there is still some theoretical value in highlighting the different ways (discursive and non-discursive) in and through which conduct is governed, and also in indicating the performative functions of particular *micro-dispositifs* at the level of their substantive or technical application in relative relation to others. Indeed, it is in this way that one can think of policy as a disposed multiplicity of material objects, like institutions, think-tanks, businesses, schools, social enterprises, state departments etc., which engage in different kinds of practices and performances. On the one hand, there is the production of statements about both the world and various objects of policy intervention (i.e. discourses of globalisation, performance, competition, enterprise, meritocracy, the economy; and discourses on objects of intervention like schools, disadvantaged students, teachers, school leaders, teacher training etc.). On the other hand, there are attempts to govern the conduct and intelligibility of these objects in relation to the claims and constraints of discourse.

To summarise, then, the *policy dispositif* is both an ontological and historical formation, and a theoretical and analytical heuristic for thinking about and investigating the complex and heterogeneous multiplicity of policy. This formation is *amorphous* yet at the same time *polymorphic*, by which I mean that it takes no single or essential form but rather involves shifting lines of descent and trajectory, different strategies, tactics and logics (which may find support or antagonism with others), and multiple locations of performance, all with their own particular genealogy or descent (be it a profit seeking company, a think-tank, a social enterprise, a school, an examination, a PISA assessment, a school inspection etc.). This *amorphous polymorphic* formation does, however, have a strategic and overarching function of 'government', that is, reflections, struggles and manoeuvrings around how education (including schools, teachers, populations, policy), and society and individuals more generally, should be governed, by whom, to what ends and by what means. Indeed, one of the earliest uses of the term 'policy' was in the fifteenth century, where it could refer to 'government',¹² and was later rendered as 'expedient conduct'. Given that

¹² Miriam Webster Dictionary Online.

Foucault (1980a, p. 195) suggests that any *dispositif* will be, albeit initially, formed in response to an 'urgent need' and perform a 'dominant strategic function', my argument is that policy, as a socio-technical formation of government, will in some important respects always relate to, evince and embody the political problem of 'how to govern' and, therefore, its ontology will *in part* take shape in response to the prevailing political rationality or rationalities of the time. In this way we might assume that the relationship between the *policy dispositif* and, say, neo-liberalism is discursive, but it is also one of strategy and arrangement, in terms of certain objects (for example from civil society) being 'put to use' and empowered with legitimacy, responsibility and political and cultural weight. The singularity of the *dispositif* at any one time is thus in part engendered by the problems and limits of governing posed by the dominant political rationality, be it, for example, liberalism, welfarism, or present day neo-liberalism, but without presupposing their neat succession, allowing for overlap, reversals and enduring elements. This is not, I hasten to add, to say that there are not multiple constraints (such as multiple and divergent, and perhaps contradictory, discourses and rationalities) which are brought to bear on policy at any particular moment in time.

I now turn to outlining the analytical framework which will be deployed over the course of the thesis. This is not intended to be a closed-analytical system, however, and is merely an attempt to fasten some supports upon which my various explorations can tread.

An analytics of power, subjectivation and truth

In the recently published set of lectures 'Psychiatric Power', originally delivered at the College de France in 1973/74, Foucault performs a conceptual and analytical move away from the idea of representations, towards one of power-knowledge relations; it is here that he first introduces *dispositif* into his conceptual 'toolbox'. Here, rather than taking the asylum as the starting point for analysis, undertaking an exposition of the ways psychiatry has historically represented 'madness', Foucault (2006) posits rather a new genealogical approach and an 'analytics of power' which asks: 'to what extent can an apparatus of power produce statements, discourses and, consequently, all the forms of representation that may then derive from it ... How can this deployment of power, these tactics and strategies of power, give rise to assertions,

negations, experiments ... and theories, in short to a game of truth?' (p. 13). The question is thus posed in terms of power and relations of power, interrogating '[t]he apparatus of power as a productive instance of discursive practice' (ibid, p. 13). It is the micro-physics of power that interests Foucault, and the broader system of relations of force which flow through, penetrate and constitute the asylum, rather than a history of the development of asylum practice from within, as it were, nor the asylum institution as the privileged site from which power is generated, stored and located. From this perspective, the asylum *dispositif* is an effect of complex and multiple relations of power which are external to its specific material sites of articulation. On this point Foucault is quite clear (ibid, p. 15):

It seems to me that insofar as power is a procedure of individualization, the individual is only the effect of power. And it is on the basis of this network of power, functioning in its differences of potential, in its discrepancies, that something like the individual, the group, the community, and the institution appear. In other words, before tackling institutions, we have to deal with the relations of force in these tactical arrangements that permeate institutions.

As noted in the introductory chapter, 'the analysis of the asylum "institution" is no longer to be taken as the essential reference, but analysis moves to its outside so as to resituate its constitution and operations within a technology of power typical of society' (Lagrange, 2006, p. 355). As I will explore in later chapters, *Teach First* articulates and is constituted by a complex of forces, including, though not limited to, what we may *describe* as governmental, disciplinary, bio-political and sovereign power relations.

The kind of analysis which is developed in the 'Psychiatric Power' lectures follows along three 'axes' – power, truth and subjectivation – with Foucault deploying his genealogical method by drawing upon a range of historical texts, sources and accounts of psychiatric practice and the treatment of the mad in order to investigate discursive practices at their point of formation. Lagrange (2006) elaborates on the analytical trajectories Foucault pursues here. He suggests, 'The analysis of the psychiatric apparatus is structured around three axes; that of power, insofar as the psychiatrist is established as a subject acting on others; the axis of truth, insofar as the insane individual is constituted as an object of knowledge; and the axis of subjectivation, since the subject has to make the norms imposed on him his own' (p. 361). As Ball puts it, then, part of 'The task is to find out how a human being was

envisaged in a particular period and the social practices that constituted this human being' (2013, p. 35). Deleuze, in a similar way, reflects on Foucault's *dispositifs* in terms of a number of trajectories which, although they are not reducible to one another, nonetheless are related and mutually affective. Rather than 'axes', Deleuze (1992, pp. 159-161) thinks of the *dispositif* in terms of ensembles of 'lines' – of utterance, visibility and subjectivation:

Untangling the lines of an apparatus [*dispositif*] means, in each case, preparing a map, a cartography, a survey of unexplored lands ... The first two dimensions of an apparatus ... are the curves of visibility and the curves of utterance. Because apparatuses are ... machines that make one see and talk ... Thirdly, an apparatus contains lines of force ... And finally, Foucault discovered lines of subjectivation.

These *axes* or *lines* are useful for thinking about the kinds of things that *dispositif* brings to the foreground, and in the next chapter I will broadly demonstrate this through a genealogy of different *historical policy dispositions*. There, I will be particularly interested in thinking about policy as not only a contingent material-ontological formation, but also a mobile historical encounter in which certain and shifting truths and assumptions are dealt and transacted. I will also attend to the dispositional production of *subject-ivities*, and that is subject positions from which people can speak and act with policy authority and intelligibility, and subjectivities which may be embodied, nourished or invested in (or, indeed, refused).

Before moving on to consider the practical aspects of the research, I want to briefly point-up that at times I will be using the term *disposition* as an alternative or at least supplemental heuristic to the *dispositif*. Whether this is a necessary move I will leave the reader to determine, but the principle behind this is, firstly, that there are similarities between the concept of the *dispositif* outlined above, and the definitions given below of *disposition* and some of its familial terms (and I particularly take note of the strategic, governmental and subjective dimensions, which cut across the axes or lines of the *dispositif* outlined above). Perhaps more importantly, however, *disposition*, understood in the different senses given below, also emphasises the *multi-modality* of power, including some of the violent, authoritarian and subtractive forms (i.e. to kill, overcome a threat) it may take (including subtractive forms and practices of bio-power and sovereignty). It also captures the war-like metaphor of power which

Foucault himself deployed, following Nietzsche, although it was one which he would eventually abandon. Consider the following definitions:¹³

[As disposition]

1). A person's inherent qualities of mind and character.

- [often with infinitive] an inclination or tendency.

2). [mass noun] the way in which something is placed or arranged, especially in relation to other things [...]

- The action of arranging things in a particular way
- (dispositions) the stationing of troops ready for military action

[As dispose]

1). (dispose of) get rid of [...]

- *informal* kill [...]
- Overcome (a rival or threat)

2). Incline (someone) towards a particular activity or mood.

I will return to these different definitions at various points in later chapters.

The Research

This study stages something of an encounter between genealogy and ethnography. Whilst there are 'dangers' associated with combining these two research 'traditions' (Tamboukou and Ball, 2003), Ball argues that they nonetheless can, if done sensitively, constitute a 'methodological affinity' (1994, p. 3). In what follows, I want to outline how I went about these two aspects of the research and, along the way, point up some of the advantages (and problems) with such a dual methodology. I will also be honest about the limitations of the research.

¹³ Oxford English Dictionary Online: <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>

The ethnography

As touched on above, genealogy exposes the fabricated nature, fragility and arbitrariness of past practices and truths. If the genealogist is taken seriously, it follows that the present – its ‘certainties’, ‘truths’ and ‘modernity’ – must be equally fabricated and is thus open to targeted critique and revocability. Whilst I develop this argument about the critical ethos of genealogy in the final substantive section of this chapter, including how this informs my own research and research sensibility, we can note a similar point about the purposes and practice of critical ethnography.

Ethnography is about critically exploring and interpreting ‘the real’, that is, it generates ‘thick descriptions’ (Geertz, 1973) of particular domains or micro-settings of social interaction and experience. The idea is to develop interpretations of what is going on in specific cultural and social encounters, including how power-knowledge relations play-out and manifest in them (Ball, 1994). Britzman (2003, p. 253) notes:

Ethnographic narratives should trace how power circulates and surprises, theorize how subjects spring from the discourses that incite them and question the belief in representation even as one must practice representation as a way to intervene critically in the constitutive constraints of discourses.

Like genealogy, ethnography aims to interrupt common conceptions and disrupt taken-for-granted assumptions, in part by rendering the familiar strange and by subjecting micro-settings and practices to sustained and critical reflection and analysis. Ball (1994, p. 4) argues that ethnography ‘enables the analyst to focus upon and explore “events”, spaces which divide those in struggle’, at the same time as prescribing to an emancipatory logic, in part by ‘giving voice to the unheard’. Again, this kind of project dovetails with Foucault’s genealogical interest in the ‘insurrection of subjugated knowledges’ (1980c), and it is in this sense, along with the sceptical sensitivity towards familiarity, that Richters (1994) suggests that there is an affinity, or ‘similarity’, between ethnography and Foucauldian genealogy. This is because ‘Ethnography makes the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian. Ethnography is actively situated between powerful systems of meaning ... [it] decodes and recodes, specifying the grounds of collective order and diversity, inclusion and exclusion’ (p. 321). Indeed, both genealogy and ethnography attend to the explicit and the implicit,

and to the ‘dominant and the silenced, the “truthful” and “illegitimate”’ (Ball, 1994, p. 4).

The research reported in this thesis has explored Teach First as a kind of ‘case study’, that is, a particular and context-bound setting animated by complex social interactions and relations of power-knowledge. At the same time, it has subjected the practices of Teach First to genealogical critique, and traced or identified their emergence along the trajectories of multiple technologies and modalities of power, all with their own complex history.

A number of ethnographic research techniques were deployed, and various kinds of data were collected (or accessed), produced and analysed. Broadly speaking, this involved the collection and production of ‘texts’: various policy documents; ephemeral materials like Teach First and other institutional brochures, advertisements and specifications; web pages and blogs; interview data; and ethnographic observations and field notes (some of which have already been put to use in the opening chapter). All data were subject to discourse and thematic analysis, with codes and themes generated in a more or less inductive way by moving back and forth between the data and the literature review, with the directions and developments of both informing one another (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

I was, of course, ‘active and reflexive in the process of data generation’ (Mason, 2002, p. 66), which is to say that I did not occupy a privileged position outside of the phenomena – or relations of power – under study. As I will come back to in the next chapter, genealogy on one level is about trying to acquire a more distant perspective on things. Nonetheless, it should be emphasised that me, myself and I – my experiences, commitments, interests and subjectivity – also figured in the conduct of the research and analysis. This latter point is an important consideration. Youdell (2006, p. 65) asks ‘whether I should offer an account of myself as the researcher. The risk of slipping into an inadvertent essentialism tempts me to avoid such an account, however, the risk of assuming a disembodied authorial authority by not doing so seems much greater’. For this reason, I should state that ‘I am’ a middle-class PhD student, with all the privileges that go with that. I have been fortunate to benefit from my advantage, not least educationally. This is important to point out as my research

refers to and may have consequences for those who are not advantaged, and by that I mean the children and young adults who form, along with others, the object of the Teach First mission and its practices of intervention. I also appreciate that my research has implications for the intelligibility of the teacher and the school. I have worked for a number of years in various educational institutions (primary, Further Education and Higher Education), and I am not ashamed to admit that I am troubled by many of the practices that I have observed and continue to observe, experience and participate in, not least (and not only) those of a more performative disposition.

Although more often than not I try to remain at the second order of observation and analysis, this does not (and should not) prevent me from trying to articulate, either directly or indirectly, or through ironic and fictive rhetorical devices (see below), my own disturbances, inauthenticity and complicity – the ‘schizophrenic double’ as Lazzarato (2009) puts it. Although one of the main objects of analysis will be the Teach First teacher (as both subject and object), the practices, discourses and subjectivities that I investigate and describe and critique have a more general salience in the immediacy of our present, and not least for myself.

The ‘case study’ on Teach First was about ‘getting inside’ the *dispositif*. It was also about immersing myself in the Teach First ‘world’ and its wider policy community. In some respects this involved becoming something of a network ethnographer, in that the research included a partial ‘mapping of the form and content of policy relations in a particular field’ (Ball, 2012, p. 5). Indeed, alongside *Teach First*, other associated organisations and practices, along with the flows of discourse and meaning between and through them, formed part of the object or field of study. Accordingly, part of the research strategy involved signing-up for ‘e-blasts’ and updates from various policy organisations, and, as noted, trawling through blogs and social media (as I write this sentence, an email from Teach First – titled ‘Our teachers have now taught one million disadvantaged young people’ – materialises in my inbox). The point was to analyse and utilise ‘new forms of virtual and electronic communication’ in order to try and achieve ‘broader and richer access to the “social” in social networks’ (Ball, 2012, p. 5). In the process of doing this, one necessarily becomes the *object of which one critiques*.

Following an initial period of literature review and broad explorative research into *Teach First*, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 17 Teach First participants, 15 of whom were in their second year of teaching.¹⁴ This was a small sample, although I was not striving for representativeness. Two of the interviewees had graduated as Teach First *ambassadors*, with neither still teaching at the time of the interview. Many, though not all, of the interviewees were privately educated, and many had attended elite universities like Oxford and Cambridge. The majority of the research participants were initially approached via email, and access was made possible by their attendance on an MA course at a Higher Education Institution, which forms a non-compulsory part of the Teach First *Leadership Development Programme*. Some of the interviewees, however, were ‘snowballed’ into the sample having heard about the study through participating colleagues. As far as possible, the interviews were conducted with individual participants ‘in the setting’, and in most cases that meant at the university when and where they were attending the training course. Some, however, were carried out at the schools in which the participants worked, and others at mutually agreed public sites. Two were telephone interviews and two were conducted in small groups. The interviews generally lasted between one and two hours, and all were digitally recorded, under the consent of the participants. The research participants were sent transcripts of the interviews in order for them to make any changes they deemed appropriate. All were informed about the purpose of the study, and all gave voluntary informed consent to participate. They were also informed of their right to withdraw from the study. In order to protect anonymity, all have been assigned pseudonyms. This also includes the schools in which they have worked, and any colleagues referred to. All interview transcripts and recordings were stored on a personal computer, protected by security passwords. BERA’s *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research* (BERA, 2004; BERA, 2011) were followed throughout, and the study was awarded ethical approval by the *Institute of Education*.

The interview served three purposes. Firstly, it was used as an exploratory tool for gaining a richer insight into the Teach First programme – how it works, how it is organised and how it is administered – from the perspectives of those who had experienced it or were working within it. Secondly, it was designed to explore the

¹⁴ See appendix for aide memoir.

outlooks, aspirations and motivations of the Teach First participants, that is, their subjectivities and conducts. In this way, the interview was less about giving voice to the participants, or treating them as ‘active agents’, than about demonstrating how and in what form they are constituted as subjects. In general terms, this is about exploring how, and taking seriously the idea that, ‘what it is possible to say at any particular time and place, from a particular subject position, is given by a history of practices’ (Bastalich, 2009, paragraph 2.5). This distinction between ‘active agents’ and ‘constituted subjects’ in fact constitutes one of the key divergences between ethnography and genealogy (Tamboukou and Ball, 2003, p. 8), although this did not preclude me from exploring the individual experiences, perceptions and perspectives of the subjects of the research. Indeed, the interview was thirdly about giving voice to their experiences of the programme and in their schools, and investigating tensions between the ‘programmatic’ and the ‘lived’. In part, this was also to provide a platform or conduit for ‘silenced voices’ and ‘subjugated knowledges’. As mentioned, although methodologically speaking I was less interested in the interviewees as speaking subjects, exploring instead the discourses and forms of vocabulary and self-description they employed and deployed in making sense of themselves and others, their practice as teachers and their experiences of the programme, I did want to give voice to their *individual* encounters. This included an interest in any difficulties they may have experienced, and their own negotiations of subjectivity. On this latter point, and to paraphrase Besley and Peters (2007, p. 20), this was to open up the possibility, if only in a limited sense, of exploring how the research participants positioned themselves as subjects in relation to discourse, and how they understood and negotiated their subjectivity and the power relations in which they were/are imbricated, albeit not necessarily aware of. I will come back to this again below where I discuss the critical approach to governmentality and its study to which this research tries to subscribe, but we can note for now that this was an approach which in part deployed social-constructivist means to material post-structuralist ends.

Ethnographic observations were also made at the Teach First annual conference, *Challenge 2012*, which I described in some detail in the previous chapter. This stage of the research followed the qualitative interviews. Again, the purpose was to observe

the setting ‘first-hand’, and also to participate in the practices of the day.¹⁵ The conference presented opportunities to collect more ephemeral materials for analysis, but it also enabled me to bear witness to the deployment of epistemological, discursive and material resources by various policy actors. I was obviously limited in the extent to which a ‘complete’ picture of the conference could be painted – the ethnographer can only be (physically at least) in one place at a time – but I did try to capture something of the overall ‘sense’ and organisation of the day, as I tried to illustrate in the previous chapter. Observations were recorded in a notebook, and included describing the setting, what was going on, how it was organised, and who was there (including my own feelings and thoughts). I also recorded by hand the direct words of some of the speakers, a task made easier at times due to the ‘tweeting’ and ‘retweeting’ by Teach First and some of the delegates, and also by video and other postings of the conference being made available on the Teach First website after the event.

Before moving onto the genealogical part of the research, I want to admit that this was only a partial ethnography of Teach First. Although the idea of a ‘complete’ ethnography doesn’t make too much sense, it is nonetheless important to confront the limitations of the research. There are many things that I haven’t been able to do, and many themes which have been identified but not explored fully, or indeed included in the analysis. At times, however, I do point-up some of these limitations and possibilities. This study is very much a starting-point, maybe even for an opposing strategy, but it is certainly not an exhaustive or complete account.

The genealogy

It is quite difficult to explain in advance how one has conducted a genealogy. In many ways, the art and intelligibility of any genealogy is in the eye of the writer and the reader. As Tamboukou (1999, p. 211) reflects: ‘I have come to the conclusion that there is no way of truly understanding what genealogy is about, other than by concentrating on a genealogy per se’. Whilst things will hopefully begin to become clearer, then, in the next chapter where I present my own ‘policy history of the present’, I should say for now that genealogy, according to Foucault (1984, p. 76), ‘is

¹⁵ I also attended a graduate recruitment fair where Teach First was recruiting.

grey, meticulous and patiently documentary'. It involves 'a vast accumulation of source materials' and 'relentless erudition'. Foucault studied socio-historical phenomena and 'events', and was something of an 'archive addict' (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 208). Historical texts and documents perhaps form the staple diet of the genealogist, but data can include almost anything: Foucault also studied literary and scholarly work, art, institutional plans and various kinds of ephemera – both past and present – and even objects such as pipes (Tamboukou, 1999).

My own approach was admittedly rather more modest and limited than Foucault's, not least because living up to his powers of erudition and his appetite for source materials is rather challenging. As Ball (2013, p. 34) puts it, the researcher is presented with 'The immediate problem ... that neither is easy to live up to, and most examples of genealogical work involve understandable accommodations with "traditional" history and its methods'. This is no doubt the case for my own genealogy of policy and power, which, and despite referring to historical 'events', practices and texts, in many instances, though not all, does so by drawing upon secondary historical literature as opposed to rich source materials. This is not to say, however, that historical accounts such as these are not useful and conducive for genealogical analysis. Also, genealogy is not only concerned with the past. On the contrary, genealogy is targeted at the present, that is, it begins by focussing on an immediate problem and then tries 'to see it in its historical dimension; how this problem turned out to be the way we perceive it today' (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 213). It is in this way that my genealogy overlaps with the more ethnographic aspects of the research, in which, as noted above, various ethnographic data and 'rich source materials' were produced and collected, and subjected to analysis.

Before concluding this chapter with a discussion, amongst other things, of the political possibilities of genealogy and how this informs my own research, I want to briefly address the critical approach to governmentality – its study and its critique – to which this study subscribes.

A critical governmentality perspective

Cutting across the dual methodological approach outlined above is a further commitment to the study of governmentalities. Governmentality studies are broadly

interested in the myriad ways in which individuals are governed, and take as their point of departure Foucault's expanded understanding of the term 'government'. Resurrecting the sixteenth century sense of the term, Foucault (1982, p. 221) makes the point that "Government" did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed – the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick'. Studies of governmentality train an analytical gaze on the ways in which thought and action are structured in advance in particular contexts, that is, they presume that '[t]o govern ... is to structure the possible field of action of others' (Foucault, *ibid*, p. 221). Crucially, for Foucault power relationships are not the same as states of domination, in that they require a degree of freedom on the part of the governed. As already noted, this means that in any power relationship there is always a possibility of thinking and acting differently. Indeed, it is this presupposition of freedom in (some) relations of power that makes the study of the techniques, technologies and practices of government particularly interesting (and ominous). Moreover, this concern with the heterogeneous, detailed and minute ways in which possible action is structured, and conduct governed, means that governmentality studies are particularly conducive, I suggest, for ethnographic methods. Analysing the details and mechanisms of government – the governing of self and others – requires 'thick descriptions' (Dean, 2002b) of particular sites where conduct is potentially shaped and actions oriented in particular directions. These 'thick descriptions', moreover, try to unpack and make more explicit the forms of truth and knowledge, and authority, which are brought to bear upon individuals and practices, including the ways in which we are constituted as different kinds of subjects in different ways in different domains.

The study of government further leads us to an investigation of the means, techniques and instruments by which these ends of government are to be realized. This is a study of the technologies of government ... It also enables us to examine the kinds of individual and collective identity, and forms of subjectivity and agency, which are 'constructed' by these rationalities and technologies of government ... All this is part of a kind of 'thick' description of aspects of government.

(Dean, 2002b, pp. 119-120)

Moreover, even if the ethnographer cannot be there to observe or experience all of these practices ‘first-hand’, the qualitative interview can be deployed to provoke memory and recollection in those ‘who were there’. In this deployment, one must admit that the interview, even with the best of ethnographic intentions, is itself a technology of power.

Whilst the ‘thick description’ of government, achieved not only through ethnographic research of particular micro-settings, but also through genealogical enquiry, is useful for understanding some of the *how* of power (including liberal governing), it is also important to point out that such a research practice can tend towards advancing merely the ‘programmer’s view’ of society. Rather than just reading off the programmatic in the real, and vice versa, a critical approach to governmentality also attends to the disconnect between programme and action, and subjects the logic of practices in the real to sustained critique. That is to say that analysis portends to ‘the immanent disjunction and dissonance between the “programmer’s view” and the logic of practices, their effects in the real’ (Dean, 2002b, p. 120). One key example of this, which in fact cuts across some of the more empirical investigations of later chapters, is the programmatic rationality of empowerment, which ties closely in with an advanced liberal political milieu. As demonstrated by Cruickshank (1999), empowerment is programmatically rationalised in terms of *quantitative* increases in the power of disenfranchised or disadvantaged groups. However, in practice empowerment tends not towards redistribution of power and advantage, but rather to a *qualitative* transformation of the hitherto powerless subject (Cruikshank, 1999; Dean, 2002b).

Whilst the different investigations of this thesis often make explicit the inscriptions of the programmatic in practices, subjectivities and ‘the real’, admittedly playing close attention to ‘archetypal forms’, I also offer critical commentary on the more implicit and insidious effects of these practices. At times, I do this by drawing upon the voices and experiences of the subjects of the research in order to disturb and disrupt the views, dreams and schemes, and the often inflated claims, of the programmers themselves, and also the hypocrisies manifest in institutions like *Teach First* and the school. It is in this way, then, that this thesis adopts a *critical governmentality* approach, other aspects of which I will, however, point up and address in later chapters. Perhaps most importantly, a critical study of governmentality should be

wary of the claims made by, of and for liberal government itself, and that is the claim that liberal government constitutes a 'making safe' of power (Dean, 2013). I will be able to say a little more about this in discussing the political possibilities of both Foucault and my own research, to which I now turn.

Critique as an 'art of living': Disbelief, concept production and a politics of revocability

Foucault refused to suspend his own disbelief. This was especially true, as we have seen, for those things which are held most dearly and which tend to be taken most for granted, such as sexuality or the supposed irrepressibility of human nature, both the good and the bad. Paradoxically, however, it is interesting that the intelligibility of Foucault's genealogies of power often rests on and requires the suspension of disbelief. As I will come back to in the next chapter, Foucault described his genealogies as 'fictions', although this is not to say that they are 'outside truth', or that they do not attend to actualities, such as 'events' and real historical practices, as above. The point is that fiction is deployed, on the one hand, in order to mirror 'the historical constitution of our most prized certainties about ourselves and the world' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, p. 48), and on the other, as a rhetorical strategy to animate and expose the operations of power which, in the immediacy of their purchase and persuasion, often go unnoticed. Allen (2014, pp. 69-70) puts this succinctly:

Fictive devices are used to generate a sense of the power relations that condition us, creating a disturbance in the subject, generating within the reader an impression of one's own external construction and lack of inner authenticity. This effect of fictive affectation would be impossible without the reality of power relations to which a fictionalised account refers. The disturbance in the reader is an effect of their recognition. An account of power that makes use of fictive devices *must ring true*.

To be sure, this undergirds a politics of revocability. Fiction is deployed as a creative means to a critical and sceptical end, and that is to tend to the immediacy, and uphold the revocability, of the present.

This kind of ethos of refusal and scepticism informs my own critical ontology of policy and power. One of the tasks that I have set myself is to try to begin to 'think differently' about policy, and to disrupt some of the certainties and universal truths in

which we are imbricated, including how we think about ourselves, others and the practice of education. To disrupt the universal is to disrupt the present and to make space for new ways of thinking and being, and to emphasise, as Foucault did, that we are 'freer than we think', or able to 'get off the ride' as the late Bill Hicks once said. It is also to demonstrate that the foundations and certainties upon which we stand, and through which we understand, may not be as indispensable or as unavoidable as they seem. In other words, the point is to agitate that 'things [are] not as necessary as all that' (Foucault, 1991, p. 76). This is to say that we *are* able to think and act differently, and that we *are not* ultimately defined and orchestrated by the ways in which we are incited, solicited and enamoured – to put it softly – to think, act and perceive, and to relate to ourselves, one another and the (policy) present. Falzon (2013, p. 293) notes that 'This concern with the present is also a concern to interrogate the present, to undermine the self-evidence, necessity, and universality of its ruling forms, to eventalize and defamiliarize them, and open up the possibility of changing them'.

This gets to the heart, perhaps, of Foucault's problem and 'oeuvre', of his ethos of critique and political activism. However, the invocation to think and act differently, to 'not be governed like that', is not something to be taken for granted, and nor is it a simple matter of description and denunciation. It is also not to forget the privileges that may aid in such an enterprise, or to avoid a commitment to collective action and communication. It is also not to ignore those 'terminal' forms of power noted earlier, or to suppose that refusal is yet to materialise. The point is that to interrupt and disturb the present, and to begin to think and be differently, is to take Foucault's challenge seriously, and that is to *do something* rather than simply affirm, augment and even diagnose things, including power. One way of doing this is to write genealogies which interrupt common conceptions and lofty generalisations. As I have touched on, genealogy attends historically to the arbitrariness and fabricated nature of social organisation and subjectivity, and hence opens up a critical space for challenging existing fabrications and practices, including contemporary ways of thinking, living and being. Importantly, genealogies explore the 'histories of modalities of power' (Ball, 2013, p. 34), part of which involves – and this is certainly the case for my own 'policy history of the present' – a commitment to exposing how power, even in its supposedly 'benign' and rational liberal forms, may well be dangerous, abusive and

violent (Allen, 2014), and authoritarian (Dean, 2007). In doing this, the challenge, firstly, is to avoid the tendency, evident, for example, in much contemporary social research, to *affirm* and *nourish* the present, a tendency which is no doubt stimulated and augmented in contemporary academia, policy and beyond by the current ‘impact agenda’. We must be wary of and alive to the dangers of augmenting a future which has, to all intents and purposes, already come to pass. But it is also, and secondly, to handle power with care. What I mean by this is that there is a danger, evident also in the diagnoses and descriptions of some studies of governmentality, of flirting with a banal understanding of the present and of power and, accordingly, of soliciting and augmenting a banal and ‘benign’ (Allen, 2014) form of critique and existence.

This study is less, or not only, a study of governmentality and its ‘thick description’, then, and more a critical analytics of policy and power in some of its myriad historical and contemporary forms and modalities. Importantly, whilst it tries to resist making first order observations and claims about the nature and value of things, especially new forms of political subjectivity, this does not preclude the reader from finding things abhorrent, unwelcome and unnecessary, and neither, perhaps paradoxically, does it preclude me from commenting critically upon, even condemning, the power relations which I try to give (fictive) account of, as I have already indicated: one can refuse to be ‘unwilling to pinpoint and denounce the power we observe for fear of intellectual simplicity’ (Allen, 2014, p. 61). By at least trying to remain at the second order level, however, the point is to problematize the ways in which life, living and being are rendered or ‘fictioned’ thinkable, practicable and governable, and thus to open up ‘possibilities for transgression’ (Ball, 2013, p. 35).

It is in this way that this thesis constitutes not only an attempted exercise in the ethos of critique which Foucault practised in his work, but also, in some ways at least, a departure. Indeed, the extent to which I remain ‘true’ to Foucault, in terms of ‘method’ and ethos, is certainly open to debate, although that is part of the point. As Allen (2014, p. 59, citing Nietzsche) puts it, whilst there must be sustained sensitivity to his work and ethos, ‘all usages of Foucault must remain partial: those who adopt Foucault can only deform him. This should be done without regret, for, as Nietzsche would say, “one repays a teacher badly if one remains only a pupil”’.

The final point that I would like to make here is that I take seriously Foucault's commitment to concept building as not only a means of and for interpretation, communication and analysis, but also as a vital form of critical existence:

To form concepts is a way of living and not a way of killing life; it is a way of living in complete mobility and not of immobilizing life; it is manifest amongst the billions of living beings which inform their milieu and inform themselves through it, an innovation that one may judge, as one likes minor, or considerable: a very particular type of information.

(Foucault, 1980b, p. 60)

In the chapters which follow, I will be borrowing, shaping and deforming for my own uses concepts and tools which have been fashioned and forged by others, and at times will also be fashioning some of my own. This thesis has in many ways been a creative exercise in concept building, and it is hoped that others may find some of these concepts and tools useful for their own critical encounters with, and analytics of, power. Dean (2010) emphasises that there is, or should be, a democratic and collective ethos to the sharing and (de)forming of concepts:

The production of concepts multiplies possibilities of analysis; concepts come back combined with those of others, in different empirical domains. Concepts of this type are never owned. Just as one borrows ... so one expects one's concepts to be borrowed, changed and adjusted to others uses and "mashed up" with others concepts'. (p. 13)

My own conceptual and methodological contribution, built upon the shoulders and words, and the blood, sweat and tears of others, and limited and provisional as it is, has been to try and intervene creatively with the present in order to begin my own project of refusal and transgression (and, perhaps, to inform or agitate others'). As we now depart on a journey which will take us from the present to the past, and then back and forth between the two, I will be keeping in mind the idea that this critical and sceptical project must, in the words of Foucault (1986, p. 96),

be conceived as an attitude, an ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them.

Part One: Disposition

A Policy History of the Present

I am well aware that I have never written anything but fictions. I do not mean to say, however, that truth is therefore absent.

(Foucault, 1980c, p. 193)

What we now call the education state is a complex governmental terrain. This terrain takes no essential form and serves no single purpose – it is amorphous-polymorphic – though this does not preclude the efficacy of hegemonic truths and strategies on its possibilities at any particular moment in time. Over the course of the long history of institutionalised educational provision in England, which spans at least two thousand years, this governmental terrain – what I broadly term ‘policy’ – has become increasingly crowded, that is, it has been colonised by an array of agents and agencies, or ‘competing liberties’ (Foucault, 1988a, p. 19), representing a mix of interests and purported ends. At the same time, this shifting and contingent formation has been, and continues to be, implicated in the productivities (and violence) of power, which itself is a complex, historical and heterogeneous phenomenon. It is to a genealogy of power and its insinuations in the history of education policy and the modern state to which I turn in this chapter.

Lineage and variation are two terms that are useful to foreground here at the outset. This is because my aim below is to try and contextualise, albeit in a limited and partial sense, the contingencies of the policy present by exploring some of the (dis)continuities from which it has emerged. Taking on and developing some of the themes, methods and concepts introduced in the opening chapters – and in particular Foucault’s triangle ‘sovereignty-discipline-government’, and the concept of the *dispositif* – I explore the relationship between education policy and power. More specifically, I try to indicate some of the ways in which policy has been materially-discursively articulated, or disposed, in accordance with what Foucault calls the ‘arts of government’: Christian pastoralism, *raison d’Etat* and Police, and (*laissez-faire*, social, neo) liberalism. In this way, I will be presenting a *partial* and ‘fictive’ history of education policy and *governmental power* by reference to what I call *historical policy dispositions*. I will also be thinking about disciplinary power and bio-power, though I look at these modalities in more detail in later chapters. More fundamentally,

I aim to embed some historical, theoretical and conceptual foundations for the subsequent and more empirical sections of the thesis.

An historical enquiry into power and policy such that I present here is relevant for understanding how policy is governed today, and for unpicking some of the historical conditions and practices which have made a policy object like Teach First possible. Whilst Teach First is both an instrument and an artefact of contemporary power relations, owing a part of its ontological and epistemological debt to modern forms of governmentality, or governmental power, it must be kept in mind, firstly, that 'Power itself has a history' (Ball, 2013, p. 29), and secondly that so too do practices. Indeed, a genealogy of governmental power and the state, as we will see, identifies some important formative roots in ancient themes and practices of spiritual guidance and a *telos* of existence revolving around notions of post-mortem salvation. This specific end of government and its supporting practices appears at first site to be far flung from the worldly ends of contemporary states, and the instrumental, performative and economic objectives and practices of Teach First and the subjectivities of the participants. Whilst one might conclude that this simply reflects a complete rupture in the objects, ends and purposes of government, such a view is rendered fragile when one considers that these secular and worldly ends, practices and objects are themselves historical.

For example, we will see below that the modern state and contemporary practices of government continue to manifest and be imbricated in the tensions between the historical coupling of two distinct images of government – what Foucault calls the 'shepherd-flock' and 'city-citizen' games. Together, this potentially 'demonic coupling' constitutes an odd governmental mix of inclusive pastoral governance, and an individualising and exclusive secular political sovereignty. This agonistic couplet has been evident, for instance, in the historical see-saw of tensions and mutual alignments between state and Church, a relationship and governmental problem which continues to inform and characterise our educational present. I will also explore how the pastoral art of care and guidance, and the techniques of spiritual monastic discipline which were initially elaborated and institutionalised by the Christian Church, have both undergone a series of multiplications and transformations. Teach First, in fact, is just one contemporary iteration of this.

The present ways of governing 'men and things', including education policy, are not a complete break from the past. My point is that there is a critical and analytical need to demonstrate – and this is another key purpose of this chapter – that the *dispositional ontologies* of objects like Teach First, including the subjectivity of the Teach First teacher, along with other 'certainties' (objects like the state, civil society, and the economy, and subjects like the teacher, the state administrator, and the policy entrepreneur, to pick just a few examples), are themselves mobile artefacts of blind historical concatenations and a lineage of different power relations which have extended and inflected, discontinued and emerged, over a great expanse of space and time.

When I speak of a *policy disposition*, then, I do so for important methodological and theoretical reasons. Recapitulating very briefly, a *policy disposition*, following Foucault's conceptualisation of the *dispositif*, is formed through the coupling of a regime of truth with a set of practices. To be more precise, a *policy disposition* is, firstly, a heterogeneous ontological formation, or a configuration of diverse material objects and practices. A *policy disposition* is also discursive and epistemological, that is, it deals in its own truths and accepted or taken for granted assumptions about the world, the nature of things, and the *teloi* of existence (and, crucially, the *teloi* of policy, education and government). Thirdly, a *policy disposition* produces its own *subject-ivities*, that is, subject positions from where people can speak and act with authority and sense, and subjectivities which may be embodied and comportmentalised. Together, these *subject-ivities* anthropologise, animate and to some extent reproduce a *policy disposition* and its inscription in the real. Importantly, *subject-ivities* are also potential sites of resistance, that is, subjectivity is a key locus and central stake in power. Finally, though not exhaustively, a *policy disposition* is constituted and permeated by power, and provides the material, technical and anthropological relays necessary for its circuitry and circulation. Whilst I reserve an important place for hegemonic political rationalities and discourses in the possibilities of policy at any moment in time, this is not to say that they are *determining*, or that they render the entire governing and policy domain completely in their own terms, as argued previously. *Historical policy dispositions* – and this is important – contain elements which have their own histories, regularities, logics and intrinsic rationalities which, nonetheless, might fall within the purview and codifications of a more

totalising or general mode or way of governing and thought. In this sense, they are *regimes of policy practice* that ‘exist[] within a milieu composed of mentalities of rule, without being reducible to them’ (Dean, 2010, p. 28).

I do not pretend to write a comprehensive history of education policy and governmentality in this chapter – such an endeavour would not only require more space, but would also always be incomplete and subject to contestation. One important area I don’t address fully here is the history of education and social class (on this, see Ball, 2010a; Ball, 2013; Reay, 2006; Simon, 1965; Simon, 1974; Simon, 1991; Simon and Rubinstein, 1969), although I do have something to say about this both below and in subsequent chapters. Moreover, there are a whole series of detailed genealogies which are possible to attempt, not least of some of the objects and practices which I will be referring to sometimes only in passing. It is therefore in a similar way to how Walters (2012, p. 21) describes Foucault’s genealogies that, rather than ‘attempt[ing] to write a total or general history of [policy and] arts of government’, I focus rather on ‘selected “events” – situations where the problematization of existing ways of governing, and reflections on different ways of governing can be identified’. Accordingly, I have identified and analysed a limited but still pertinent selection of *policy objects*. These objects – educational and policy institutions, including the monastic song school, the Prussian *Volksschule*, private venture schools, Bentham’s *Chrestomathia* – have their own contextual logics and trajectories of emergence, and are most intelligible within the governmental and discursive milieus within which they were invented, theorised, and/or problematized. That is to say, they articulate in some ways the policy and governmental *a priori* of which they were/are a part. The analyses of these objects and their associated policy dispositions are, however, more demonstrative than definitive. The ‘method’ will be taken more to its limits in the more empirical sections of the thesis.

Nonetheless, these historical policy objects and dispositions will be analysed along the three analytical vectors introduced in the previous chapter: truth, power and subjectivation, and Deleuze’s ‘lines’ of utterance and visibility. I also take heed of Dean’s (2010, p. 27) interpretation and operationalization of these vectors, and that is as the ‘three general axis of government ... *techne*, its *episteme* and its *ethos*’. The idea, simply put, is to trace and animate, in a relatively concise way, some of the

historical continuities and discontinuities of policy, power and truth over the last two millennia.

The *historical policy dispositions* I identify represent a very loose periodization which begins with the arrival of St. Augustine and his cadre of Christian missionaries in England at the end of the 6th Century AD, and continues up to the present day neo-liberal. Along the way and in-between, I also consider the emergence and development of modern administrative and territorial states, their arts of government and attendant *policy dispositions*, and the social liberalism of the end of the nineteenth century which would eventually manifest itself, in and amongst other things, in the welfare state. I also begin to explore the 'governance turn', though develop this more directly in the next chapter.

It should be noted with some emphasis that this periodization should not be read in a linear and teleological fashion, nor in terms of clean breaks, neat successions, simple replacements, or a unitary trajectory. Rather, the histories of policy, power and governmentality, taken both separately and together, are ones of multiple lines of descent, of overlap, transformation, transposition, and sometimes even reversals and returns. There is an 'acetate effect' to power and government – material and epistemological remnants and relics of previous regimes may remain, transform or find a new or more dominant function, rather than disappearing in the shifts from one singularity to another. Power and regimes of government are heterogeneous and fickle phenomena.

What follows is therefore an attempt to illustrate *some* of the relationships between education policy and what can be termed the various 'arts and crafts' of government, illustrating that the historical 'what, who, by whom, and why of governance has been extremely diverse' (Walters, 2012, p. 20). In a sense, the tools for my trade – genealogy and *dispositif* – are to help me understand what education policy is today, that is, where policy has come from and what it has become. Together these tools are about 'standing back to get a better perspective on ourselves and our today' (Veyne, 2010, p. 117), and 'diagnosing the present, saying what the present is and explaining how our present is different, absolutely different from anything else' (Foucault, as cited in Veyne, 2010, p. 117). In some ways paradoxically, the writing of this genealogy of policy and power also presents a 'possibility ... to use the analysis of the

past to make the unfamiliar familiar, to show that the past is not so different from today in certain respects' (Dean, 2010, p. 57).

Inscriptions in the Real: Historical policy dispositions and the arts and crafts of government

The Christian Pastorate and the Monastic School

The King's School in Canterbury has an interesting history. Presently a fee-paying private school, it was given its name when brought under the governance of the King's Court in 1541, under the reign of the Tudor King, Henry VIII. The King showed some interest in education (Cressy, 1975; Simon, 1966), a factor that no doubt influenced his intervention into the governance of this particular school and in other aspects of education in England during his reign.¹⁶ However, this intervention should also be understood in relation to his well-documented jurisdictional struggle with Rome and the monasteries, which reached a head at the time of the Reformation.

Prior to Henry's intervention, the school had been under the governance of the Church. It has been argued that it was founded in connection with Canterbury Cathedral, along with a monastery, towards the end of the 6th century. The catalyst for the establishment of this and subsequent monastic schools was perhaps the arrival of St. Augustine and his Gregorian missionaries in Southern England in or around 596 AD. St. Augustine was both a representative and an embodiment of the political power and influence of the Christian Church, which was spreading across Europe. He was set to the task by Pope Gregory of establishing a Christian nerve-centre and stronghold in the English Kingdom of Kent, ruled over at that time by the Saxon King, Ethelbert. Incidentally, Ethelbert had married a Christian Princess, which perhaps marked him out as a useful strategic ally to the Catholic Church. Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and has become known historically as *Augustine of Canterbury*.

¹⁶ Joan Simon interestingly argues the case that it is around the time of the Reformation that something resembling a state education in England can be identified as emerging in England.

Although one must be careful with his historical accounts of education,¹⁷ and he is certainly no ‘good Nietzschean’, Leach (1915, p. 1) argues that ‘As there were no schools any more than there were churches in England, Augustine had to create both’. It would only be later, during the Reformation and in the fallout of the dissolution of the monasteries and the waning political power and influence of the Church, that the school would be renamed after the monarch and brought, in part at least, under his governance:

It may be safely asserted then, that in this year, 598, as an adjunct to Christ Church Cathedral, or rather as part of it, and under the tuition of himself and the church who came with him and whom Ethelbert endowed, Augustine established the Grammar School which still flourishes under the name of the King’s School, not from its original founder, Ethelbert, but from its re-founder, Henry VIII.

(Leach, 1915, p. 3)

Two types of monastic school emerged in early medieval England: grammar and song (Gillard, 2011). Most historical accounts (besides those of Leach), however, suggest that there was little to distinguish between the two in terms of curriculum content as well as their utility and service to the Church. Joan Simon (1966, p. 4), for example, argues that ‘in earlier centuries [pre-15th century] the main schools documented are those connected with a monastic house or major church’, and as Williams (1961, p. 128) explains:

The conscious object of these early schools, attached to cathedrals and to monasteries, was to train intending priests and monks to conduct and understand the services of the Church, and to read the Bible and the writings of the Christian Fathers.

Diverting our attention to Foucault’s genealogies of power and governmentality, it may be possible to consider these very early monastic schools, which continued to spring up throughout the medieval period, as a part of a *pastoral policy disposition*. As we will see, this is a policy disposition ‘which places the problems of governing a moral community at the centre of its self-reflections’ (Eudaily, 2004, p. 31). It demarcates a problem-space of government which, as Dean (2010, p. 99) puts it, is bound up ‘with a notion of the living individual and his/her needs, with the relation

¹⁷ It should be acknowledged that Leach’s historical accounts should be taken with a large pinch of salt due to the lack of objectivity in his researches, related to his own ‘conservative’ political agenda in promoting the historical success and ‘academic rigour’ of Grammar Schools.

between the collective and the individual, with notions of obedience and duty, with knowledge and, most importantly, with ideas of salvation’.

Pastoral Power: Monastic Education and a Pastoral Policy Disposition

It has often been said that Christianity brought into being a code of ethics fundamentally different from that of the ancient world. Less emphasis is usually placed on the fact that it proposed and spread new power relations throughout the ancient world.

(Foucault, 1982, p. 214)

In very general terms, pastoral power refers to a particular kind of governmental relationship. It is as an ‘art of conducting, directing, leading, guiding, taking in hand, and manipulating men ... collectively and individually throughout their life and at each moment of their existence’ (Foucault, 2007, p. 165).¹⁸ Pastoralism is an *individualizing and totalizing* form of power – a kind of proto-governmentality – symbolised by the dual, relational and dependent image of the ‘shepherd-flock’. This image portrays a power relationship: a pastor (shepherd) attends to and cares for a spiritual *community of individuals* (flock) in order to guide and lead them towards salvation. The flock must submit *in toto* to the governance of the pastor, and the pastor, in turn, must be prepared to die for their flock. Pastoralism is hence a most personal and affective relation of power. Salvation is the necessary end of pastoral government, for, according to Christian doctrine, man is born in sin. It then follows that it is only through ongoing repentance and self-renunciation that individual and collective atonement can be achieved in the eyes of God. The ‘shepherd-flock’ relation therefore involves ‘a form of power that looks after not just the whole community but each individual in particular, during his entire life’ (Foucault, 1982, p. 214). That is, pastoral power is ‘coterminous with life’ and involves dependent and hierarchical relations between subjects constituted as such.

The pastor and the pastorate are constituted as *subjects* and as a ‘*community to be governed*’ (Dean, 2010, p. 101, *my italics*). One is to lead and govern souls (pastor), the other to follow, listen and learn, and be guided for the duration of their worldly

¹⁸ These pastoral themes were not new. According to Foucault, they were appropriated by the Christian Church from previous forms.

life (pastorate). This is a dual and mutually reinforcing process of subjection and subjectivation, the intended outcome of which:

should result in a developed form of conscience in its subjects, in the gradual use and understanding of a series of techniques of self-examination, by which they come to know themselves better and implement upon themselves the lessons of the pastor.

(Hook, 2004, pp. 254-255)

The pastoral art of government is hence operationalised along three axes – salvation, obedience and truth (Golder, 2007). We have seen that salvation is the *telos* of government, and that the subject must be obedient, that is, they must give themselves to their master and submit to their expertise. In terms of truth, the pastor must have knowledge of each member of the flock and must know and provide for each of their individual needs. Importantly, ‘he [also] must know what goes on in the soul of each one, that is, his secret sins, his progress on the road to sainthood’ (Foucault, 1981, p. 238). Knowledge of the individual is accumulated, and personal truths, thoughts, sins and progressions are self-extracted by the individual under the tutelage of the pastor, with the aid of spiritual techniques and practices (i.e. the confession). Foucault (1982, p. 214) argues that ‘this form of power ... implies a knowledge of the conscience and an ability to direct it’, but it also implies and requires that the pastor (and the flock) has a knowledge of the word of God, the scriptures, and the means towards salvation. As I address below, education and the monastic schools of early medieval England had an important technical and cultural function in this regard. Moreover, education in the middle-ages provided material and anthropological sites for the circuitry, circulation, and spread of pastoral power, both in the monastic/ecclesiastical milieu, and, eventually, elsewhere.

It was only with the institutionalised education of monks and clerics in the word of God, in the technical practicalities of religious service and ritual, and in the reading and writing of Latin – a ‘primordial’ regime of truth and practice – that the efficacy of the pastoral relationship could be established and sustained. Clearly, monastic education, in this sense, also functioned as an insular and reproductive mechanism whereby ecclesiastical recruits could be versed in the proficiencies and technicalities of spiritual guidance, enabling careers to be forged in the clergy, a highly sort after vocation at the time (Simon, 1966). More broadly, however, the monastic school also

formed part of an infrastructure, or material formation, which, theoretically at least, but also in practice, enabled pastoral power to be if not generalized but to some extent extended out to the wider population, including the laity. Joan Simon (1966, p. 7) argues:

The great religious communities were the centres of learning in the earlier middle ages and provided organised instruction for young entrants in the Latin and singing needed to participate in services in church; instruction which became available to outsiders once regular schools became established.

Very briefly, I should add that with the Church assuming and aspiring to greater pedagogical and moral influence over the laity, there would later arise questions and confrontations over with whom the responsibility for education should lie (i.e. the Church, civil society, the state, the Sovereign), and what its purposes should be, as I will come back to below. This has in fact been an ongoing struggle, and continues today. For example, the Education Acts of 1870 and 1944 were partly concerned with the problem of what to do with the existing Church and voluntary schools in lieu of the ‘rolling out’ of, first, state elementary schools and, second, the tripartite system of state education. More recently, the struggle has been seen in the ‘free schools’ policy of the Coalition government, with many of these new schools being of a religious character and ethos.

Returning to the point in hand, however, education was (and continues to be) a *vital technology* for transmitting and embedding the culture and knowledge necessary for the Christian-spiritual way of life, that is, knowledge of the divinity, the truths of sin and salvation, and the means toward self-renunciation. Indeed, Foucault identifies a number of reasons why the middle-ages did not oversee a ‘triumphant pastorate’, citing one example as being ‘of a cultural nature: the pastorate is a complicated technique which demands a certain level of culture, not only on the part of the pastor but also among his flock’ (Foucault, 1981, p. 240).¹⁹ This is perhaps why the pastoral art of government, initially at least, was largely confined to the monastic milieu or, to put it differently, why the monasteries were particularly conducive to pastoral power. However – and this is important for the emergence of other forms of educational

¹⁹ The other problems relate, according to Foucault, to the effective and enduring power relations of feudalism, and the extent of the rural economy.

provision and the multiplication of the pastoral function out into the wider society – Foucault (ibid, p. 241) notes that ‘if the pastorate was not instituted as an effective, practical government of men during the Middle Ages, it has been a permanent concern and a stake in constant struggles’. He continues:

In the population itself one sees all during the Middle-Ages the development of a long series of struggles whose object was pastoral power. Critics of the Church which fails in its obligations reject its hierarchical structure, look for the more or less spontaneous forms of community in which the flock could find the shepherd it needed. (p. 241)

In the later middle-ages, particularly from the fifteenth century, the educational terrain expanded. This was a period characterised by a crisis of the pastorate and spiritual governance (Dean, 2001). A truly diverse assortment of providers emerged which included universities, trade-guilds, local parish clerks, private teachers, chantries (independent church schools), and charitable almsgivers (Simon, 1966). This proliferation in provision into a ‘bewildering variety of forms’ (Williams, 1961, p. 133) reflects, at least in part, the breaking out of pastoral power from the monastic milieu. It also demonstrates in some ways the shifting tide towards secularisation, and the ‘yearning to arrange pastoral relations among men’ (Foucault, 1981, p. 241) beyond the purview and control of the Church. Of course, this expansion and diversification must also be situated within the context of a changing economy and, later, industrialisation, and also the arrival of humanist (educational) and renaissance ideas from other parts of Europe, especially from Italy (see, for instance, Black, 2007). Crucially, however, education was beginning to be influenced by and aligned towards more worldly and secular ends, such as work, welfare, social (as opposed to strictly spiritual) discipline, civic life, and the political:

Later, when urban communities brought together men of the same occupation, professional codes likewise took shape which governed new forms of education ... In the later middle ages lay education rested mainly on the social structure of the guilds ... [T]his form of apprentice training, like that of the upper classes, was concerned with manners and morals as well as instruction in the relevant skills.

(Simon, 1966, pp. 8-9)

In the larger towns new demands for education were no doubt met by private teachers in the same way ... At the more elementary level it was possible to call further on the services of the parish clerk, ... founders of chantries, hospitals [and] almshouses ... Guilds could also freely initiate schools in

newer centres which lacked any major ecclesiastical foundation, while the authorities of boroughs where there had never been an established school could invite a teacher to set up in town.

(ibid, p. 21)

If these historical accounts are taken seriously, it is possible to argue that the monastic school initially emerges in direct association with not only the disciplinary, but also the practical and technical requirements of the Church, and therefore as an instrument and effect of government vis-à-vis the spread of Christianity and, in particular, the Christian pastorate. Religious service, ritual and recital, including education, were not just a means for spreading and teaching the word of God, and therefore for propagating the power, influence and territorial reach of the Church. They were also, as we have seen, technologies of pastoral power. A material formation of churches, cathedrals and monasteries, connected at a distance and in network-like fashion to the strategic and epistemic (though perhaps more the symbolic) epicentre in Rome (where the papacy resided), enabled spiritual and salvation-oriented practices to be institutionalised in an organised fashion. The monastic school, in turn, provided a setting of instruction and a pedagogical space for the training of the shepherd and the flock, and the standardisation and regulation of knowledge. As the ecclesiastical and educational architecture expanded, pastoral power was, to some extent at least, extended out to the wider population, transmitting the knowledge and culture necessary for wider and more general participation and spiritual governance (a key objective of the later Puritan and Pietist reform movements that I will look at shortly). This was, moreover, the spiritual and cultural knowledge that was necessary for the constitution of a community of individual and individually governable subjects who recognised and invested in themselves as such.

Most of the formal schooling available in the late fifteenth century [and earlier] was associated with the Catholic Church and was probably geared as much to the preparation of priests as to the education of the laity ... [It would only be later, in the 16th century, when] [m]ore likely to survive were schools founded for the sake of education rather than salvation.

(Cressy, 1975, pp. 3-4)

My point is that education policy in the early middle-ages was disposed in accordance with a pastoral art of government. Material objects like monasteries and churches, their attendant song schools, and the various spiritual and monastic practices

(services, prayer, confession, self-examination, spiritual guidance, etc.) together constituted a socio-technical formation of governance. At the heart of this *pastoral policy disposition* was a primordial regime of truth: the word of God and the promise of salvation in the afterlife, and an individualised and individualising knowledge of the condemned subject. This regime of truth was not merely articulated in doctrine and scripture, but was also produced by a regulated and general production and extraction of knowledge both about and from the individual, constituting him/her as a subject and marking their soul as the object of government. The *telos* of conduct was salvation, and the spiritual journey of self-renunciation and self-discovery was undertaken under the meticulous care and guidance of a pastor. We have also seen how this pastoral function diffused out from the monastic setting. This initially occurred through the attempts of the Church to expand its operations in order to enrapture and govern the lives of the laity. Pastoral power was then further dispersed and reabsorbed in the proliferating educational provision of the later middle-ages, which in part can be theorised as a response against the contradictions and hegemonies of the Church (Foucault, 2007) – those counter-policy-conducts I referred to earlier – and a response to new social, political and economic exigencies. Education and its technical, pastoral, and also disciplinary functions, was to be increasingly met by a variety of providers which would together form the complex terrain of educational governance that the later English state of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, governing in accordance with a new liberal formula of rule (*laissez-faire*), which I will look at later, would be at some pains to leave, in as much as they were useful, to their own governing devices. That is to say that liberalism would aim to govern *through society*, which is itself ‘discovered’ as an autonomous object and a ‘discrete totality’ (Dean, 2010, p. 128).

We can perhaps begin to see why Foucault’s genealogies of governmentality reserve an important place for the Christian pastorate in the curves of development of modern forms of governmental power and political rationality. Indeed, the various pastoral techniques of government, exercised over a religious community, would prove an important benchmark, as we will see, in the ‘development of power techniques oriented towards individuals and intended to rule them in a continuous and permanent way’ (Foucault, 1981, p. 227). It is in this sense that Foucault suggests that the Christian pastorate and its ‘shepherd-flock’ image of government, in its later coupling

with what he calls the ‘city-citizen game’, formed the ‘background’ and the ‘prelude’ to the modern state and the management of an object which would become known as *population* (see below), that is, bio-power (Foucault, 2007; Golder, 2007). I return to these themes in later chapters.

Next, however, I want to jump forward in time somewhat to consider eighteenth century Prussia and the birth of state education. Here I will fasten an analysis of *raison d’Etat* and state power upon another policy object – the Prussian *Volksschule*. I will situate the *Volksschule* as a part of a broader policy configuration, what I term a *state policy disposition*.

The Volksschule and the Birth of State Education

The Prussian *Volksschule*, or ‘people’s school’ (Dobert, 2007, p. 299), is the first example of direct state intervention into the general education of a territorial population. The school formed a cornerstone in a policy effort to ‘establish a uniform system of compulsory elementary education for all children between the ages of five and thirteen’ (Melton, 2003, p. 174). Schooling had in fact been made compulsory in Prussia under the reign of Frederick William I, initiated through two legislative acts in 1717 and 1737 (Gradstein, Justman and Meier, 2005). It was later in that century when ‘The General Civic Code of 1794 established the *Volksschule*, the public elementary school, as an institution of the state, financed mostly from local taxes’ (ibid, p. 13). Leaving aside the question as to the extent to which the policy was enforced, and the administrative problems faced, what is important for my concerns here is the ways in which education entered into the policy and governmental reflections of the state. However, before looking more closely at these reflections and concerns, it is important to note that the *Volksschule* was not so much invented by the Prussian state as adopted from the disciplinary and pedagogical innovations of the Church. Hunter (1996, p. 161) argues:

By the middle of the eighteenth century in most western European states two different and autonomous rationales for educating the population lay side by side ... From the political rationality and ‘expert systems’ of the emerging governmental State emerged the imperative for a bureaucratically organised system of mass education ... The other programme emerged from the historic efforts of the reformed Protestant and Catholic churches to Christianize lay

populations, through a dedicated transfer of spiritual discipline into the routines of daily life.

In effect, the Prussian state administrators (an important and telling new subject position) were economical and pragmatic, utilising the already existing material, disciplinary and technical components of monastic and ecclesiastical education and, to be more precise, the more recent and 'worldly-ascetic' ideas and innovations of Pietism.

Pietism was a Protestant reform movement pursuing what Melton (2003, p. 25) calls a 'Reformation within the Reformation'. Frustration had grown from within the ranks of the movement regarding a perceived lack of spiritual revolution following the Reformation, and what we might also add was a perceived failure of the pastoral art of government. The Pietists sought a more durable, general, and 'worldly-ascetic' form of spiritual life, that is, a new and more effective form of pastoralism. Once again, education was a vital instrument in transmitting and embedding the new relation of power:

Pietism was fuelled by the conviction that Protestantism had failed to fulfil the spiritual promise of the Reformation ... Endless complaints of poor church and school attendance, ignorance of the catechism, and the sinful behaviour of a recalcitrant laity inspired doubts as to whether Luther's reformation had genuinely taken root.

(Melton, 2003, p. 24)

One of the main objects and targets of the Pietist *educational* model was the character and personality – the morality and subjectivity – of the individual student. Critical of what they perceived to be the temporary, external and 'empty' displays of faith characteristic of Catholicism and other forms of Protestantism, the novel spin woven by the Pietists was the doctrinal foregrounding of 'inwardness'. Put simply, 'inwardness' concerned the deep and moral inscription of spiritual reflection into the soul and general way of life of the subject. In some ways it signalled a 'downgrading' of the dependency relation characteristic of the Christian pastorate. Rather than depending solely on others to help guide one's conduct appropriately, the Pietists favoured a kind of *ascetic responsabilisation*. Whilst the monastic pastoralism we looked at earlier struggled to embed itself successfully in the practices, the psyche, and the ethical grounding of the wider society, this form of asceticism served to

mobilise and transmute pastoral power by embedding its function within the self-reflecting and, hence, self-regulating practices of the individual, who, in a sense, was to become her own pastor. Weber's (1930) thesis on the protestant ethic and 'spirit of capitalism' is relevant here: the inscription of an ascetic way of life and *worldly agency* into the practices and *teloi* of a community of individuals. Indeed, according to the Protestant idea of predestination, salvation could no longer be either known or achieved through the help of a Pastor. The good conduct of the individual was a 'sign' that they, perhaps, had been chosen for the afterlife. Weber (1930, p. 119) suggests:

The Puritan, like every rational type of asceticism, tried to enable a man to maintain and act upon his constant motives, especially those which it taught him itself, against the emotions. In this formal psychological sense of the term it tried to make him into a personality. Contrary to many popular ideas, the end of this asceticism was to be able to lead an alert, intelligent life.

A key innovation of the Puritan movement was to encourage bible reading amongst the laity, which previously had been viewed by those in positions of power (including the Church and the aristocracy) as an unnecessary and potentially subversive practice.²⁰ Literacy, it was thought, would enable more autonomous investments in the spiritual way of life, or, to put it another way, the literate spiritual subject could be more self-governing. Indeed, it is for this reason that '[t]he Pietist celebration of "inwardness" (*Innerlichkeit*) produced a renewed concern with the role of education in the shaping of personality' (Melton, 2003, p. 23). As Hunter (1996, p. 160) explains: '[t]he object of this pastoral pedagogy was not to produce docile workers or social automatons. Instead ... it was to form the capacities required for individuals to comport themselves as self-reflective and self-governing persons'. Indeed, the influence of Pietism has been significant in the history of both education policy and governmentality (and capitalism). It is worth noting that the Pietists developed the first teacher training schools and, with their pronounced focus on work ethic and 'vocation', they 'laid the basis for the emergence of vocational education' (Melton, 2003, p. 23). Such mundane and taken-for-granted practices like hand-raising in class and collective teaching are also Pietist innovations. More important for our present purposes, however, is the place of Pietism in the genealogy of the constituted human

²⁰ These sentiments continued well into the nineteenth century in England when arguments for a state education in England were gaining momentum.

subject, and that is, the spiritually self-reflective, responsible, and self-governing individual:

[T]he question of the subject spilled more blood in the sixteenth century than the class struggle did in the nineteenth. According to Lucien Febvre, what was at stake in the Religious Wars was the possibility of Protestants constituting themselves as religious subjects who could accede to God without the mediation of the Church, priests or confessors.

(Veyne, 2010, p. 103)

Returning to the central focus of this chapter, in order to understand how these pedagogical and disciplinary practices and milieus became useful for the state – a part of its ‘governmentalization’, as Foucault called it (2007, p. 109) – we need to assess how education entered into the legitimate concern of state administrators, and, hence, of the governmental thought and practice of the time. To do this, we need to attend to the arts and crafts of *raison d’Etat* and the science of police.

Raison d’Etat and State Power – A State Policy Disposition

Our societies proved to be really demonic since they happened to combine those two games – the city-citizen game and the shepherd-flock game – in what we call the modern states.

(Foucault, 1981, p. 239)

Reason of state is a secular political rationality which emerged in the sixteenth century. Together with the theory and practice of police, or the *Polizeiwissenschaft* as it was known in the German police states like Prussia, this rationality was an important ingredient in the formation of the modern state.

The state, as both instrument and effect of power, and as a domain of governmental concern, has its own history. The Christian pastorate that we looked at above was a political, or rather spiritual community to be governed. The city of classic antiquity was also a particular kind of governable community. It comprised a *polis* of free citizens distinguished from others who were not (the excluded: slaves, immigrants, refugees, those outside the city walls). The city was the object of government, and its nourishment and care, along with that of the citizenry, its secular *telos*. The citizenry, moreover, formed a legal and political community with certain rights and obligations bestowed by their status as such, as opposed to the needy and obedient subject of

pastoral power. This is what Foucault calls the 'city-citizen game'. It is only later, from at least the sixteenth century, that a new image of the object and ends of government begins to emerge. The new image would in part combine the inclusivity of Christian pastoralism with the inclusive-exclusivity of the Greek polis. As Dean (2010, p. 101) notes, this new image is of a 'body that claims monopoly of legitimate violence within a particular territory, to use Weber's definition, and which exercises power over the inhabitants of that territory both as citizens and as members of a population, to follow Foucault'. Whilst Foucault is never completely clear about what he means by 'demonic', it is certain that he sees some kind of 'demonic' potential in this fusion of modern legal citizenship and the pastoral care of a flock now indexed at the level of the population. Perhaps it is the dangers and paradoxes inherent in 'harmonising' and managing these two, in some ways opposing, forces which Foucault has in mind. I will come back to this tension in later chapters, however, where I explore how this dual image of government is manifest in the Teach First programme.

Reason of state marks a crucial break in conceptions and practices of government. It displaces 'Christian notions of government in terms of God's revelation and commandments, and ideas of government in accordance with divine, natural or even human law' (Dean, 2010, p. 105). This is important because, on the one hand, reason of state critiques the idea of ruling in accordance with nature and a divine charter (i.e. the divine right of kings) where worldly concerns and practices of government formed a part of 'a theological-cosmological continuum in the name of which the sovereign is authorized to govern and which provides models in accordance with which he must govern' (Foucault, 2007, p. 234). On the other hand, reason of state questions the Machiavellian preoccupation with the relationship between the Prince and his principality, that is, 'how ... power and control can be maintained by the Prince over the state' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, p. 27). This, as Eudaily (2004, p. 34) notes, inaugurates the moment where 'the scope of pastoral government was rearticulated in a secular form tied to the state as political body separate from the body of the sovereign'. This was not simply symbolic: it marked a key moment in the governmentalization of the state. Sovereignty, including the divine body of the sovereign, was beginning to be partitioned from the ends of the government of a separate entity known as the state.

In other words, reason of state considers the existence of the state and its government as an end in-and-for-itself. Not, therefore, the health and prosperity of the Sovereign, but the health, prosperity and 'happiness' of the state. Foucault (2007, p. 258) notes, 'The end of *raison d'Etat* is the state itself, and if there is something like perfection, happiness or felicity, it will only ever be the perfection, happiness or felicity of the state itself', not the Prince and not perfection and justice in the eyes of God or the law. The state must be protected and consolidated. It must be preserved, *known in detail* and maximised internally (with more limited external ambitions) in order to remain strong and competitive within a European system of state equilibrium (Foucault, 2010).

The internal governing of the state, headed by the sovereign, is only *limited*, but not informed, by external law (be it natural or divine), which is *outside* of state reason. This external limitation, or opposition, would ask of the sovereign: Are these practices of government just or legitimate? Are you governing in accordance with that laid down by nature or the divine charter? This kind of external limitation and critique of governmental practice is important, particularly when compared to the internal and '*de facto*' limitation of government characteristic of liberalism (utility), which I will address a little later. *Raison d'Etat* posits *no internal limitation* to governmental practice: the territory, including all that goes on within it, falls within the purview, interest, and jurisdiction of the state.

Reason of state and the rationality of police prescribe a totalising form of government, where no detail is too small and no intervention too far, and where, as Osborne (1996, p. 100) puts it, '[n]othing was to be impervious to the gaze of knowledge; the exercise of government demanded a thoroughgoing command of the domain to be governed'. This command of the governable domain, including education policy, involved arranging 'things so that the state becomes sturdy and permanent, so that it becomes wealthy, and so that it becomes strong in the face of everything that may destroy it' (Foucault, 2010, p. 4). Golder (2007, p. 168) adds:

Accordingly, the state is placed in both an external and an internal field: first, what is required externally is the maintenance of the competitive equilibrium of national power in Europe ...; and secondly, what is deployed internally is the doctrine of police ... [T]his political technology of police intervenes in the daily life of the subjects of the state in everything from the circulation of goods and people, to the maintenance of sanitation and health, the

guaranteeing of public security and order, and the construction of infrastructure.

In the eighteenth century, then, police did not merely refer to an internal state institution of sponsored violence and security, as it does today. Rather it was a 'rationality that sought to govern, so to speak, *in toto*, down to the minutiae of existence' (Barry, Osborne and Rose, 1996, p. 9). In other words, police was a 'governmental technology identical to the state itself' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, p. 27). Importantly, the police state was 'a modern matrix of individualization, or a new form of pastoral power' (Foucault, 1982, p. 215) no longer concerned with securing the salvation of a spiritual community in the afterworld, but about achieving the *worldly* happiness and *vitality* of the *population*, 'and in such a way that the well-being of individuals is the state's strength' (Foucault, 2007, p. 328). A 'happy' and healthy population – in other words, an ordered, civil, well-moralled, respectable, thrifty, and disciplined population – ensures that the state is strong and stable, capable of defending itself, and able to compete efficiently and economically. Pastoral power is thus secularised and folded in with the practices of the police state:

Reason of state does not seek the salvation of human beings or the establishment of the unified Christian Empire in preparation for the final days before the Second Coming. It is not, recalling Foucault's own account of Machiavelli, principally concerned with the prince's hold on his territory, whether inherited or acquired. Rather, it is concerned with the preservation and perfection of the order of the state itself.

(Dean, 2010, p. 231)

Prussia was a breeding ground for this new rationality of rule. For instance, it is a particularly prominent example of a police state that 'witnessed a continuous stream of literature ... which saw the role of the state in a positive light' (Brewer and Hellmuth, 1999, p. 14). A myriad different and overlapping police agencies were established, responsible for Prussian state policy in things such as health and sanitation, the economy, religion, the family, morality, and education (Klippel, 1999). Brewer and Hellmuth (1999, p. 14) summarise:

Handbooks of the *Polizeiwissenschaft* and *Kameralwissenschaft* and works of natural law not only defined the purpose of the state as to promote general *Gluckseligkeit* (happiness) or the *bonum commune*, but also attempted to provide detailed descriptions of the tasks of the state. The panorama that unfolded in the process was truly remarkable, stretching from public measures

to proposals for economic policy and analyses of the various educational institutions which the state should take under its wing.

It is in this context that a policy object like the *Volksschule* became both possible and intelligible. In fact, we can see that it is not at all surprising that state education was born in police states like Prussia, where, as Klippel (1999, p. 77) puts it, citing the prominent German mercantilist of the time, Johann Friedrich von Pfeiffer, 'the "Gluckseligkeit of the whole state and of its parts" was seen as the task of the state'. State intervention into education was therefore a *legitimate, necessary, sensible* and *prudent* policy.

Again foregrounding the analytical axes of the *dispositif*, we can situate the *Volksschule* and its intelligibility within a broader configuration of elements, what I term a *state policy disposition*. This disposition was formed out of the coupling of a new regime of truth and set of practices, that is, the *truth of the state* and detailed *knowledge of the population*, and the regulatory *practices of police* (and articulated with Pietist pastoral guidance and discipline). The general education of the population was bound up with a style of governmental thought that 'rationalized a form of government whose objects were the security and prosperity of the state itself, and which identified the welfare of the citizens with achievement of these ends' (Hunter, 1996, p. 148). The *state policy disposition* comprised a heterogeneous array of material objects, including the overlapping police departments and the elementary system of *Volksschules*. Indeed,

under the umbrella of this rationale the domains and objects of government in fact began to multiply. Once government was conceived in terms of an optimal management of a territory and its population, it multiplied into a number of discrete domains – government of the economy, internal and external security, welfare, and moral discipline – each increasingly controlled by its own expert personnel.

(Hunter, 1996, p. 148)

This is to say that the reason of state and the science of police formulated and exercised a form of *state power* (Foucault, 1981, p. 242). This state power established a number of subject positions, for example the state administrator/bureaucrat, the public official, and the state citizen as a member of a national territory/population. It dispersed and operated through the mundane and everyday tasks, relations and

practices of state administrators, and material objects like the *Volksschule* and the various *polizie departments*. 'Lines of light' illuminated these new objects and subjectivities, and 'lines of enunciation' legitimated their authority and truth through the discursive practices of, for example, the *Polizeiwissenschaft* and state theorists.

These 'strong state' traditions and theories influenced governmental practice in Prussia well into the nineteenth century.²¹ Despite the increasing influx and take-up of liberal ideas from England in the eighteenth century, with which these traditions were both confronted and combined in some interesting ways (see, for instance, Klippel, 1999), Prussia is a useful case from which to build a comparison with the more liberal state of England. This comparison, although not completely unproblematic, can be justified by reference to the fact that 'German states felt it right and proper to intervene in areas that in Britain were clearly regarded as beyond the purview of the state' (Brewer and Hellmuth, 1999, p. 14). Whilst Prussia had its developed and institutionalised theory of *Polizeiwissenschaft* and an increasingly centralised and bureaucratised education system, contemporary English political theorists and activists like Thomas Paine (as cited in Brewer and Helmuth, *ibid*, p. 16) were writing things such as this:

The more perfect civilisation is, the less occasion it has for government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself ... Government is no further necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent.

Private Venture and Voluntary Education – A Diverse and Decentralised Educational Terrain

At the time that Prussia was establishing the *Volksschule* as just one means towards achieving state security and prosperity, there was no similar policy object apparent in the English educational landscape. Here, in the eighteenth and much of the nineteenth century, education was not viewed as the task of the state. Instead, educational and welfare needs were met by a diverse assortment of private and voluntary providers, including, as we have already seen, the Church and charitable almsgivers, but also an array of individual agents and agencies, such as philanthropists and professional trade guilds. Blakemore and Griggs (2007, p. 47) note that '[b]efore 1870, the responsibility

²¹ It can also be argued that they remain so in some form or another in Germany today.

for providing, paying for and running schools lay largely in the hands of the voluntary sector (churches and charitable institutions) and the private sector'. Whilst it would be wrong to assume that the state was completely absent from educational governance before the Education Act of 1870,²² the important point for my purposes here is that, when compared to a state like Prussia, education in England was not considered a legitimate or necessary domain of direct state intervention.

In their comparisons of eighteenth century Prussia and England, Brewer and Helmuth (1999, p. 17) argue that:

British society had an astonishing capacity to carry out projects on a voluntary basis. Many undertakings which, in the German territories, would generally have been regarded as the job of the state were accomplished by private initiative in Britain. The spectrum ranges from schools and theatres to hospitals, which were frequently maintained by private subscriptions.

So, on the one hand it can be argued that it was the particular socio-political and economic characteristics of England which meant that more direct intervention into education by the state was less necessary than in a more rural and agriculturally based economy like Prussia. On the other hand, and related to this point, we also need to bear in mind that England was a breeding ground and early articulator of a new liberal mentality of rule. As we will see below, this liberal governmentality, following Foucault, should be thought about in the first instance as a *critique* of state reason: that is, liberalism emerges in eighteenth century England as a critical response to *raison d'Etat* and police, which are criticised, in part, in terms of threats to individual liberty. However, it is important to note that liberalism is not a complete break from *raison d'Etat* and police, as we will see, but rather 'its point of inflection in the curve of its development' (Foucault, 2010, p. 28). Crucially, governmental practice in England was articulated with a new truth regime, and that is *the market* and its 'theoretical expression and formulation in *political economy*' (Foucault, *ibid*, pg. 29, *my italics*). At the same time, one also must bear in mind what might be termed the inverse or 'counterweight' to liberalism, its 'partner in crime' if you will: *discipline*. Foucault (2010, p. 67) states:

²² The first state grant for school building was in 1833, and Teacher Training Colleges began to be established in 1840.

I have drawn attention to the fact that the development, dramatic rise, and dissemination throughout society of these famous disciplinary techniques for taking charge of the behaviour of individuals day by day and in its fine detail is exactly contemporaneous with the age of freedoms.

Liberal Governmentality: Discipline, Bio-power and a Liberal Policy Disposition

What is this new type of rationality in the art of government, this new type of calculation that consists in saying and telling government: I accept, wish, plan, and calculate that all this should be left alone? I think that this is broadly what is called 'liberalism.'

(Foucault, 2010, p. 20)

As political rationality, liberalism is characterised by a kind of governmental paranoia. What I mean is that the art of government involves the perpetual critique of governmental practice itself. Liberalism is averse to 'excessive government'; it is about *not governing too much*. This indicates an immediate difference from state reason, which envisions the government of the state as an end in itself. Liberalism does not govern for and in the name of the state: it governs for and in the image of society. It is society, or *population*, which governs the necessities for and self-limitation of government. At the same time, liberalism is also about utility, that is: 'The fundamental question of liberalism is: What is the utility value of government and all actions of government in a society where exchange determines the true value of things?' (Foucault, 2010, p. 46). Market exchange, in liberal terms, is a powerful and mystical force. The economy and economic processes can be analysed and theorised, but are always beyond complete knowledge and understanding. In the first instance at least, the economy and other processes and regularities of population are outside the legitimate scope of governmental intervention, so long as they are useful as they are. To govern or not to govern, that is the question of liberalism.

Foucault (2010, p. 20) calls this liberal paranoia 'the self-limitation of governmental reason'. This self-limitation bestows on the liberal art of government its nominally 'frugal' character and ethos, although we will see later that liberalism is not so frugal after all. The self-limitation of governmental practice, as I describe below, is presaged upon, firstly, the 'discovery' of objects or domains such as the economy, population, and (civil) society. These domains are considered 'external' to and quasi-autonomous from the state (Dean, 2010, p. 131). Secondly, self-limitation is characterised and

informed by a detailed and extensive accumulation and production of knowledge about these domains, and that is of their regularities, processes, and practices, and their norms, habits and ethics (Osborne, 1996). Let me try and unpack some of these features by considering more closely some of the peculiar aspects of liberalism, and also its lines of continuity with reason of state and police.

Whilst it is certainly informed by influential economic theories and philosophical ideas (i.e. the 'invisible hand', 'laissez faire' and 'homo oeconomicus'), Foucault suggests that liberalism is best approached as a kind of practice or way of doing things (1997, p. 74). The liberal way of doing things is underpinned by relentless suspicion towards government and is characterised by a series of cost benefit analyses into the prudence of formal state intervention into the external and pre-existing processes and domains it 'discovers'. In other words, as Dean (2002a, p. 41) puts it:

[L]iberalism as practice must be viewed above all as a form of critique that is concerned with the idea that 'one always governs too much'. The activity of the government of the state is not an end in itself, as it is in the doctrines of 'reason of state', but something done on behalf of what lies outside the state.

Unlike the doctrines of police and reason of state, these 'external' processes are not considered transparent to the governors of the state, but require a constant theoretical and empirical elaboration. They must be appreciated so that they might be responded to in the 'correct' and most 'expedient' and 'efficient' way. In some instances, this could of course mean leaving them precisely as they are, as is inscribed in the liberal theory and practice of laissez-faire. Liberal rule is characterised by a will to know and understand the objects and domains 'discovered' outside of the formal state apparatus. This is not simply some folly, we might add, as it these existing mechanisms, infrastructures and dispositions which, for liberalism at least, inform and serve the broad objectives of the state (i.e. security, economic strength, order, useful and docile subjects). Liberalism tries to govern in such a way, then, that these useful processes are not impeded and so are left to operate *naturally*. Liberalism *understands itself*, then, as a practice of 'positive-negative' facilitation – a kind of organic governmental husbandry. It aims, according to Foucault (quoted in Gordon, 1991, p. 17), 'not to impede the course of things, but to ensure the play of natural and necessary modes of regulation, to make regulations which permit natural regulation to operate: *manipuler, susiter, faciliter, laissez-faire*'. In a sense, as Miller and Rose (2013, p. 59) explain,

‘Liberalism ... marks the moment when the dystopian dream of a totally administered society was abandoned, and government was confronted with a domain that had its own naturalness, its own rules and processes, and its own internal forms of self-regulation’.

The theoretical and epistemological separation of the formal apparatuses of the state from the supposedly autonomous domains and processes of population is crucial to all liberal forms of rule. This (dis)continuity is just one of the outcomes and mechanisms of what Foucault calls the ‘governmentalization of the state’. This refers to a complex unfolding which Foucault identifies and analyses along the interweaving trajectories and descents of three modes of power – the triangle, ‘sovereignty-discipline-government’. Although there is more to say about this, the governmentalization of the state refers, on the one hand, to the separation of sovereignty from governmental practice, with antecedents in the reason of state, and the subsequent re-inscription or ‘reconciliation’ of sovereignty with the art of government (Dean, 2010, p. 122).²³ I will come back to this later. On the other hand, Foucault also offers an alternative understanding of the state which differs sharply from those given by, for example, critical theorists. Whilst the latter articulate a form of ‘state phobia’ by describing a process whereby the state encroaches and forces itself upon society, Foucault emphasises the ways in which the state is ‘mobilised’ in a ‘piecemeal-like’ fashion from existing practices and mechanisms which are then incorporated, appropriated and shaped. This is to understand the ways in which the *effect* of the state is mobile and contingent, but also how political authorities mobilise, either in ‘absence’ or at a distance (through contracts, monitoring, incentives, coercion, etc.), the already existing governmental mechanisms, authorities and processes of civil society for state objectives. Walters and Haahr (2005, p. 140) put this succinctly:

The governmentalization of the state implies [that] ... if the state has a central role in our lives, it is not to be explained in terms of a singular logic, or a will on the part of the state to control society. Rather, an explanation has to be sought in the genesis and spread of technologies of power in spaces and circumstances that are frequently situated beyond the state and which only later become linked to its formal apparatus. The governmentalization of the state is the story of how social practices ... that were invented under specific,

²³ This could also be theorised in relation to Deleuze and Guattari’s (2004) de/re-territorialisation.

historical circumstances, came to provide the mechanisms which allowed the state to function *as* a centre of governance.

What is important for present concerns is that one of the outcomes of governmentalization, as noted, was that government came to be viewed as an art of process management. That is, 'the government of the state was conceived as acting on processes that were external to the state and independent of its existence. These included industrial, economic, social, biological and psychological processes' (Dean, 2010, p. 223).

Foucault suggests that the truths of these at once opaque but knowable domains and processes were increasingly identified, collated and theorised by the existing and emergent disciplines. On the one hand was political economy, whose 'intellectual instruments' and calculations were not so much a new innovation than 'formed within the very framework of the objectives set for the art of government by *raison d'Etat*' (Foucault, 2010, p. 14). On the other were the emergent modern disciplines and their problematizations of individual and collective human vitality, morbidity and mortality (Rabinow and Rose, 2006). These new disciplines would eventually displace the expertise and authority of the philanthropist, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century (Rose, 1996b).

Knowledge of political economy provided the basis of inspiration and limitation for a liberal art of government which wanted to respect the assumed natural disposition and play of things. Indeed, as Foucault (2010, p. 13) argues, it was political economy that 'made possible the self-limitation of governmental reason as a *de facto*, general self-regulation which is intrinsic to the operations of government and can be the object of indefinite transactions'. This was premised upon, as we have seen, the 'discoveries' and revelations made by the political economists and other intellectual disciplines 'of phenomena, processes, and regularities that necessarily occur as a result of intelligible mechanisms ... The objects of governmental action have a specific nature' (ibid, p. 15).

One such 'intelligible mechanism' with its own specific nature was *the market*. Foucault (ibid, pp. 30-33) analyses the genealogy of this domain, from being a site of *justice* in the middle ages (the 'just price') to a site of *veridiction*, or truth, in the eighteenth century ('natural' market mechanisms and the 'natural price'). In terms of

a genealogy of truth, we should recall that Christian pastoralism was about the truth of salvation, the word of God, and the detailed extraction of knowledge both about and from the individual subject; *raison d'Etat* was elaborated upon the transparent truth of the state and all that goes on within its territory, including economic processes, and a knowledge of the territorial population to be governed through direct regulation. Liberalism, on the other hand, can be thought about, in its theoretical elaboration, in terms of a folding of the quasi-autonomous and supposedly natural processes of population – the truths and regularities ‘discovered’ there by the political economists and the disciplines – in with the governing of the state. In this process, new subjects of expertise and authority emerged, mediating between, on the one hand, the natural play of things, and on the other, the self-limiting imperative of the state. As we will see below, it was the more direct and organised linking up of these expert networks to the formal institutions of the state apparatus that would begin to establish a more social form of liberal government towards the end of the nineteenth century.

For now, I want to emphasise that along with the question of utility, which asks whether a governmental institution or practice (whether formal or informal) is useful, unfounded or harmful in fulfilling the objectives of government, it is the economic truth of the market which informs the internal limitation of the liberal art of government (and, of course, these two limiting technologies are related). In other words, the ‘natural’ processes of the economy – including price fluctuations, the migration of labour to where wages are higher, the individual pursuit of private wealth and prosperity – pose, for liberalism, the necessary limits to government. Interference in these domains, the precise natures and futures of which could never be wholly known by a sovereign ruler or by the governors of a state, would run the risk of distorting and impinging upon their self-regulating nature. Political economy told liberal government that it could not ultimately know and master these processes, and that they must be left to function as they do, if necessary with the establishment of regulations which enable them to do so. Mansell (2011, p. 8) notes:

The principle of this internal regulation is ‘economic truth’ understood as the effect of natural market processes, unimpeded by government, on utility and the wealth of the state. The free market is a ‘site of veridiction’ which must ‘tell the truth’ and it is here that the science of political economy, of which Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* is the most influential example, can show governments where the internal limitation of their activity lies.

It would be wrong, however, to assume that liberal governing simply releases society and the economy from the arbitrary proclivities and interferences of power. On the contrary, power would produce and 'constitute certain realms, such as those of market transactions, the family and business undertaking, as 'non-political', defining their form and limits' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 60). Moreover, liberal government is more than happy to administer, shape, codify and then utilise these domains and their power relations for the fulfilment of foundational (security, economic prosperity, order) and mobile objectives:

Liberal doctrines on the limits of power and the freedom of subjects under the law were thus accompanied by the working out of a range of new technologies of government, not having the form of direct control by authorities, that sought to administer these 'private' realms, and to programme and to shape them in desired directions.

(Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 60)

These market and population 'truths' hence became the rationality, modality and practice(s) of government; they became crucial for effective liberal rule. Political government and sovereignty were increasingly linked to and relocated in the programmes, techniques and technologies, and the norms and values, of civil society (i.e. philanthropists, social reformers, private/religious/community welfare ventures, social enterprises). This 'action at a distance', operationalised through contracts, monitoring and incentives, also extended to disciplinary mechanisms. The clinic, the asylum, the prison, the school, the poorhouse etc., aimed to produce docile and productive individuals. They manifested and marshalled the *norms of good liberal citizenship (i.e. economic, responsible, moral, self-governing)*, and identified and intervened upon deviating and deviant conduct: criminals, delinquents, the mad, the urban poor, etc. I will come back to the importance of 'indispositional conduct' for liberal (authoritarian) governing in later chapters. For now, I merely want to emphasise that liberal government does not simply depend upon 'political actions', as ordinarily perceived (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 60). Rather,

[l]iberal government identifies a domain outside 'politics', and seeks to manage it without destroying its existence and its autonomy. This is made possible through the activities and calculations of a proliferation of independent agents, including philanthropists, doctors, hygienists, managers, planners, parents and social workers. And it is dependent on the forging of alliances.

(Miller and Rose, *ibid*, p. 60)

We can now begin to detail some of the elements of what could be termed a *liberal policy disposition*. Firstly we have a modality of power – governmental power – which presumes and requires in the first instance a free subject who comports him/herself in ways of their own volition and free-choice. This is a subject of agency who chooses a course of action from an indeterminate range of possibilities, some of which will of course be more desirable than others from the perspective of the governors. Indeed, ‘the liberal rationality of government regards the liberty of its subjects as an indispensable element of government itself’ (Hindess, 1996a, p. 128). As we have seen, liberal government is characterised by a critical ‘ethos of review’ (Dean, 2010) in which the question ‘why rule?’ is continually posed (Rose, 1996b, p. 47). At the same time, liberal governmentality, in its complex relationships with discipline and bio-power which I discuss more directly in **Part 3**, also embraces and is operational through the heterogeneous sites and domains (schools, hospitals, workhouses, factories, prisons, asylums, etc.) in which individual and collective human vitality, conduct and capacity is problematized, known, organised and/or shaped. This form of government is not simply exercised through what one might ordinarily describe as coercive practices, although that is not to say that governmental practices are necessarily benevolent or benign. Government is exercised through pastoral and disciplinary power, including the moral guidance of the soul and the utilitarian location and training of bodies. Governmental power aims to constitute docile and productive individuals, and takes as its points of reference both the *good liberal subject and citizen* (independent, economic, moral, etc.), and *their indispositional others*. This is consolidated by and legitimated in accordance with expert and authoritative invocations of the norm and the normal, a correlate of which is the legitimate exclusion, partitioning, and attempted correction of those deemed abnormal (the necessary and constitutive flipside to the good and ‘normal’ liberal citizen, or what Popkewtiz [2013] calls ‘double gestures’). At the same time, these disciplinary and corrective mechanisms are bound up with a continuous and insatiable thirst for detailed knowledge of the *vital signs* – that is, the processes and regularities, the present and potential pathogens, and the health and vitality – of the state population and its demographic subsets, including any threats to security thereof (see **Part 3**).

Governmental power, or in this case liberal governmentality, concerns itself with the 'conduct of conduct'. It acts on and through the conducts of individuals and collectives 'at a distance' from the formal state apparatus, in material and technical sites which pepper the terrain of civil society (which have their own histories and conditions of emergence beyond the initial purview of the state). This is why I suggested earlier that liberal rule does not at all mean a lack of government and rather involves the mobilisation and utilisation of pastoral and disciplinary (and bio-political) techniques and technologies for the fulfilment of its objectives and the securitisation of 'freedom' (in accordance with and in relation to the normal/abnormal, and anchored in civil society). In fact, the apparent contradictions between, on the one hand, the idea of liberalism as a limited form of government which protects the freedom of the individual subject of rights from the 'monstrous' interventions of the state, and, on the other, the explosion of techniques and technologies of government which problematize, shape, direct and guide the conduct of others in relation to the norm, points to a key and ambiguous element of liberal rationalities and practices of rule. Whilst an already existing economic and moral subject is invoked, and that is a subject who can expect to be free from interference from central government and who contributes, in theory, to the power and strength of the state (Mansell, 2011, p. 88), the inauthenticity of this subject is disclosed by the positive institution of this subject as part of an equally fabricated community of self-actualising and self-governing individuals. This is what one might call the *Janus-Faced* logic of liberalism, which I will come back to again in later chapters. Hindess (1996b, p. 66) puts this accordingly:

In the discourse of liberal politics in particular, the figure of a community of autonomous individuals appears on the one hand as a given reality, serving to identify the character and the limits of legitimate government. On the other hand, it appears as yet to be realised positivity, serving to define the objective for a variety of governmental projects.

This is a question of the active instituting and administering of a liberal 'form of life' (Dean, 1991, p. 13) – a *subjecto-ethical vital politics* of authoritarian liberalism to which I return in later chapters (Part 3).

So, we have the economic truth of the market and we have power. Or rather, we have a composite of interdependent powers: liberal governmentality, discipline, and

pastoralism. The latter, as I come back to more directly in **Part 3**, was transformed into a population –level enterprise of ‘management’ and ‘optimization’, or bio-power. As Nadesan (2008, p. 26) argues, referring to the set of pastoral processes and mechanisms which would be increasingly linked up to a more social and centrally calculative state over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries:

[T]he state assumed and transformed for its own purposes “pastoral” power. Bio-power, the science and art of managing populations in order to elicit and administer life forces coupled with an array of disciplinary practices, would become the new mode of pastoral operations.

We also have the subject position of the philanthropist, who, along with religious functionaries, and through their own endorsed volition, apparent sense of moral purpose, and ‘free-will’ – those qualities, values and comportments of the liberal form of life – attempts to moralise and discipline the population through technologies of poor-relief and education, and particularly those members of the urban poor and labouring classes. Education would provide a pastoral and disciplinary function, but not merely in a subtractive fashion: it contributed to the problematization of certain communities and individuals, and the positive facilitation and enhancement of a particular kind of ethical and vital human being (which had, of course, to fit around and into the [child] labouring needs of industry, and those of families and parents). In contrast to the Catholic pastoralism we saw earlier, and more in tune with Pietism and Protestantism, this was a worldly pastoralism that ‘was no longer a question of leading people to their salvation in the next world but, rather, ensuring it in this world’ (Foucault, 1982, p. 215). By ‘salvation’, Foucault has in mind a much broader set of ends and obligations indexed at a much larger scale of abstraction (population), including ‘health, well-being (that is, sufficient wealth, standards of living), security, protection against accidents’ (ibid, p. 215).

Concurrently, the officials of pastoral power increased. Sometimes this form of power was exerted by state apparatuses or, in any case, by a public institution such as the police ... Sometimes the power was exercised by private ventures, welfare societies, benefactors, and generally by philanthropists.

(Foucault, 1982, p. 216)

Moreover, Deacon makes the point that this transmutation and relocation of pastoral power was nonetheless transferred through and built upon the already existing practices and ends of the Church. He argues:

The integration of Christian pastoral practices into the modern disciplines was made all the easier given the former's already close association with some of these 'new' aims: the welfare functions of health, education and poor-relief were already amongst the activities of the Church, which also provided many of the functionaries required to staff new state apparatuses, especially the all-encompassing police, as well as welfare societies and philanthropic associations, and in the process helped to swell the ranks of a self-consciously intellectual stratum.

(2002, p. 454)

In summary, then, it was the 'haphazard system of parish and private adventure schools' (Williams, 1961, p. 134), including the philanthropist Robert Raikes' Sunday schools, the charity school movement and the elementary education provided by "dame schools", church societies and voluntary organisations' (Ball, 2010a, p. 58) which constituted the material architecture of what I have schematically termed the *liberal policy disposition*. Significantly, in 1816 the utilitarian Jeremy Bentham, the architect of the now infamous Panopticon, in which Foucault was particularly interested, also proposed what he called a *chrestomathic day school*. Although never instituted, this school articulates the core features of the liberal art of government (economy and utility), and its somewhat paradoxical correlate, discipline. The school was to offer training and instruction for children of 'the middling and higher ranks in life'. It was to teach a broad and secular curriculum, and was designed, both programmatically and architecturally, to be 'chrestomathic', that is 'conducive to useful learning' (Bentham, 1816). Its panoptic architecture and monitorial techniques meant that it could serve one thousand pupils in a single institution, which was to be constructed in Bentham's garden. Bentham also suggested pupils be allocated to different ability groups, known as 'place-setting', and that competition should be encouraged over and against corporal punishment, known as 'place-capturing'. The chrestomathia was therefore designed to enable useful learning and efficient governance, in Bentham's terms, and to channel the economical, distributive and productive forces of disciplinary power, in Foucault's. Indeed, Bentham, '[a]t the end of his life, in his project of the general codification of English legislation, [would]

propose that the Panopticon should be the formula for the whole of government, saying that the Panopticon is the very formula of liberal government' (Foucault, 2010, p. 67). That is to say that the Panopticon, and the chrestomathic day school, are objects which articulate a liberal rationality of government and economy of power based upon the principles of self-limitation, supervision (discipline) and utility. In other words, they are material expressions of how 'Economic freedom, liberalism ... and disciplinary techniques are completely bound up with each other' (Foucault, 2010, p. 67).

I revisit and reanimate panopticism in relation to neo-liberal governmentality in the next chapter. However, there are two more moments that I want to explore first: firstly, the emergence of a social form of liberal government (social liberalism) over the course of the nineteenth century and its gradual crystallization into the welfare state; secondly, the shift to a neo-liberal or 'post-social' form of governance characteristic of the policy present. In moving forward, I keep in mind Ball's (2010a, p. 59) argument that:

It is difficult to understand the slow progress towards a free, state-provided system in the 19th century until we grasp that education had long been regarded as a family decision, an issue of freedom from the state. Its provision by deeply antagonistic, powerful denominational groups ensured that state interference was resisted until regulation became a matter of urgent social control and economic improvement that philanthropy was failing to meet.

Social liberalism and state education

Over the course of the nineteenth century there was a gradual inflection and transformation in the arts and crafts of government. A new *ethos* of rule was established which saw it that the state should take more responsibility in governing and regulating the formerly private domains of society (Dean, 2010; Miller and Rose, 2013). The liberal state would now not only ensure and respect the freedom and autonomy of the individual and adhere to the necessary self-limitation of government, as in classic liberalism, but also take more of an active, calculative and programmatic role in securing both the welfare of the population and the security of the good, normal, and self-governing social and economic citizen (Dean, 2010; Miller and Rose,

2013). It was over the course of this period that population would rise more to the surface as the object of discourse and practices.

This *social* form of liberalism and its related ‘loose kinship’ of social and economic problematizations (Dean, 2010, p. 152) coincided with the emergence of the modern disciplines (i.e. psychology, sociology, criminology, public health, social work, public/social policy, economics, statistics). The disciplines sought, in different ways and in relation to a diverse range of problems, to understand, infer from, and calculate society and the social (Dean, 2010; Miller and Rose, 2013; Nadesan, 2008). They ‘discovered’ norms, regularities and processes, and identified social problems amenable to intervention. In some instances, they would also offer critical commentary on social and economic governance and failure, and highlight the plight of those exposed to the vagaries and inequities of the economic cycle, especially at times of economic depression (Dean, 2010).

The earlier disciplines of political economy and vital statistics were joined by the emergent human and social sciences, including demography, and together linked a plethora of formerly non-political spheres of governmental concern, such as the family, education and the economy, or more broadly civil society, to the formerly political (legal, legislative, financial, technical, calculative) apparatuses and capacities of the central state bureaucracy. At the same time, and related to an expanding electoral process, institutions that would later become known as ‘think-tanks’ emerged, alongside other popular associations and social movements in health, education and class and gender-based rights movements (Dean, 2008). These organisations would take it upon themselves to research, advocate and/or advise on policy issues, representing different social issues and political interests.²⁴ Together, ‘[t]hese practices, disciplines and actors helped establish political concerns for national well-being, prosperity, social cohesion and the extension of citizenship. A social domain was hence being formed, and with it a social way of governing ...’ (Dean, 2008, p. 30). Blakemore and Griggs (2007, pp. 5-6) add:

²⁴ The Fabian Society is Britain’s oldest political think-tank, established in 1884 (Fabian Society website). At that time it represented the labour movement and today continues to advocate on policy issues on the political left.

Concerns about questions of social policy grew throughout the nineteenth century. For instance, there was mounting concern about poverty and the squalid conditions that many people had to live in at the time, concern about child labour in mills, factories and mines, and concern about lack of literacy and the threatening power of the uneducated masses. As the end of the nineteenth century neared, it became increasingly clear to a growing number of reformers that government would have to play a much larger role than before in dealing with the social problems of the day.

Positive as well as negative liberty was now to be actively promoted and pursued by the state. Whilst negative liberty refers to 'freedom from' external constraint, positive liberty refers to 'freedom to', or to the capacity of an individual to exercise their free-will, including the negation of those 'constraints' which prevent them from doing so. A series of reforms, 'ranging from legislation relating to employment (child labour), to health and education' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, p. 111), articulated and enacted this new concern for alleviating the ills and side-effects of industrial and market capitalism, and instituting a new collectively conscious and responsible national citizenry. The Education Act of 1870 established the first state elementary system of education in England, and in the early to mid-twentieth century, compulsory secondary schooling was expanded through a series of legislation. Education, along with other areas of social and economic concern, was now increasingly viewed, reluctantly, as a necessary domain of state intervention. At the heart of this *ethos* was not simply a progressive zeal, although this certainly played a part, but also a deep concern for the morality of some sections of the national population, and a related wariness towards economic decline in the face of strengthening national states and economies abroad. Whilst many on the political right worried that educating the urban poor was a dangerous proposition in that it might lead to unfounded aspirations, or a fear that the 'dregs' of society might acquire delusions above their station, there was a steady acceptance that state provided education was a necessary means for strengthening the economy, and optimizing (and disciplining) the national population. Conditions were hence emerging for the later crystallization of a welfare state.

Social Government and a Welfare Policy Disposition

A social form of liberalism emerges, then, in the late nineteenth century in the midst of profound economic, political and social changes, and problems related to

industrialisation and free-market capitalism. The destructive effects of industrial capitalism were becoming increasingly apparent, especially with regard the health, vitality and morality of the labouring classes which, in turn, was a predicament considered a threat to the more general welfare, prosperity and security of the state and its population. Urban centres were rapidly emerging, expanding and being transformed. Mass economic migrations, coupled with sharp population increases, rendered the industrial heartlands an increasing problem of (bio-political) government. 'The urban' became a governmental matter of managing flows and populations (Ball, 2010a), with governors faced with the malignant and damaging side-effects of industrialisation and urbanisation. There was a gradual appreciation that liberal political economy was limited in its capacity to deal with and solve these problems, and the existing disciplinary and pastoral mechanisms of philanthropy and voluntarism were found wanting. A new architecture of bio-political management and optimisation was sought. Miller and Rose (2013, p. 200) note:

Over the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, [the liberal] formula of government was perceived from a variety of political, moral and philosophical perspectives, as failing to produce the necessary economic, social and ethical consequences. One sees the rise of a new formula for the exercise of rule, which one can call 'social'.

The late nineteenth century sees the emergence of a *social state* and a *social form of governing*. By both establishing spheres of expertise and co-ordination within the central state bureaucracy (government departments and bureaucracies in, say, health and sanitation, education, public/social policy etc.), and by mobilising the knowledge and expertise of the statistical, human and social sciences, the central state took more of a direct role in governing society. This was a state bio-politics and form of governmental husbandry in some ways similar to classic liberalism, although this time ostensibly more hands-on and planned, or 'landscaped'. Like classical liberalism, this new social form of government would also maintain a clear distinction between a public bureaucracy and private domains such as the family and the workplace, although interventions into these private domains would only be justified upon the basis of 'knowable ills and problems or incapacities of self-government, or in the name of a greater good, such as the security of the population or prosperity of the nation' (Dean, 2008, p. 30). This distinction between the public and the private, as we will see below, would later be dissolved by the rising tides of neo-liberal reason.

We saw earlier how philanthropy and voluntarism were key mediating agents between limited liberal government and the governmental imperative to intervene in society, and, initially at least, these agents and their practices retained an important role in the new and emergent social form of government, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. The philanthropist, however, was only a precursor of the 'social turn', and was increasingly replaced by the *professions* and the *disciplines*. It is worth briefly adding here that the professions would establish and consolidate positions of autonomy and power beyond the state and its objectives, and this was indeed a necessary condition of (self-limited) social government. These governmental and professional 'enclosures', as Rose (1996b, p. 54) calls them, would later become the objects and targets of neo-liberal critique, and would themselves be subjected to neo-liberal technologies of government (sometimes described as the *government of government*, and I come back to this later).

The first notable state intervention into education in nineteenth century (1840) England was to establish teacher training colleges, or 'normal colleges' as they were rather tellingly known at the time. It is interesting that Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who founded the first *normal college* in Battersea, and who was responsible for administering the first Government grant for public education, started out his career as a sanitary engineer, and was also a founding member of the Manchester Statistical Society. *Experts* like Kay-Shuttleworth, along with *professionals* such as teachers, social and health workers, and public health officials, were to be amongst the new mediating agents and 'technicians of behaviour' for the burgeoning social state (Foucault, 1977, p. 294; also see Larsen, 2011, on the 'making and shaping' of the Victorian teacher). Ball (2010a, p. 56) argues:

Mass migration, internal and external, into cities in the 19th century ... produced enormous social and political problems that were responded to slowly and not without struggle by the development of a social state that began to provide education, public sanitation systems, health and social statistics and forms of social welfare and regulation through the work of the modern professions, such as teachers, social workers, health inspectors and probation officers. 'The urban' was then and is now a repository and magnifier of social problems.

The knowledge and claims to truth of these new social subjects of expertise provided political government with the means to establish order, provide care, and promote a

sense of good common citizenship in accordance with social and bio-political norms and expectations (see **Part 3**). In this sense, as Miller and Rose (2013, p. 202) argue, 'The truth claims of expertise were highly significant Through the powers of truth, distant events and persons could be governed "at arm's length"', fulfilling at the same time the de facto limitation of liberal government. Moreover, 'Political rule would not itself set out the norms of individual conduct, but would install and empower a variety of "professionals", investing them with authority to act as experts in the devices of social rule' (ibid, p. 202).

Alongside the installation and empowerment of these new *governing* subjects in networks of social government and welfare, the *governable* subject was also transformed. Put simply, both the subject and the problem were socialised, that is, they were placed within a social context and revealed and illuminated in their social form and in terms of their social circumstances and consequences (Dean, 2010). The governable subject of welfare would now be a subject of needs and complex circumstance, 'to be embraced within and governed through, a nexus of collective solidarities and dependencies' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 202). Put another way, the social subject and the social problem – their causes and their effects, or their truths – were bound up with a new set of governmental problematizations and practices. Firstly was the problem of the 'governability of democracy' (Donzelot, 1991), that is, how to govern and manage a society, and maintain order and some salience of the status quo, where the franchise has been extended to new social groups and individuals, who have their own aspirations, allegiances and governmental force. Secondly was the problem of how to ensure and institute a 'liberal form of life' when there are limitations on the legitimate intervention into the private lives of citizens. Perhaps more significant, however, was the ways in which the social subject and the social problems surrounding her were refigured and rearticulated as being matters which concerned not just the individual subject of needs, but the whole of society. The *ethos* and vocabulary of welfare hence 'sought to discover the means of translating the particular, the personal and the private into the general, the public and the social' (Dean, 2010, p. 152).

The *telos* of social government retained a worldly and responsabilising pastoral function, which was more specifically to stimulate and bolster national economic growth, for example through a policy of full-employment, and to secure the well-

being of the national population through promoting collective social responsibility and the mutualisation of social risk (Miller and Rose, 2013). A two way contract was installed between the state and the citizen: the state would take it upon itself to provide protection and security against social and economic risks (the provision of a national health service, national pensions, employment rights, social security, national communications and transport industries, etc.) in return for the industrious, socially responsible and thrifty citizenship of the individual. Dean (2010, p. 176) argues:

[Welfare g]overnment was understood as an activity undertaken by the national welfare state acting as a unified body upon and in defence of a unitary domain, society. The purposes of this government were conceived as enframing society within mechanisms of security by which the state would care for the welfare of the population ‘from cradle to the grave’.

It was not until the mid-twentieth century, however, after the Second World War, that the welfare rationality of rule was consolidated into a more durable, concrete and effective form. The experience of war arguably contributed to a new collective and progressive sense of purpose, a desire to build a better and fairer society. The 1944 Education Act, also known as the Butler Act, and the later implementation of some its key features by the post-war Labour government (including tripartite education, although this was never actually stipulated in the Act), formed a cornerstone of the welfare state. Chitty (2005, p. 47) notes that the Butler Act ‘was widely seen as part of [a] post-war programme of reconstruction and renewal’. It also set in motion and began to establish a national system of education which was locally administered.

In terms of defining the contours of the *welfare policy disposition*, then, we can see again that social liberalism and welfare deal in a form of truth. This, as Rose (1996b, p. 48) argues, is ‘somewhere between classic liberalism and nascent socialism’. The truth of the market is still important, but it is coupled with a truth, not so much, or not only, of civil society, as we saw with classic liberalism, but of *the social* – social problems, their effects, circumstances and consequences (otherwise known as the cultural turn) – and social responses and interventions. Welfare is also a form of governmentality; it is about shaping the conduct of others ‘at a distance’ in a myriad authoritative sites and locations, including schools, which are linked up more directly – and this is one of its novelties – to the legal, financial and calculative arms and capacities of the state. New related subject positions emerged, some of which

appeared much earlier in Prussia, such as the state bureaucrat and the professional teacher, but also '[w]itness the emergence of the statistical societies and the sanitary reform movement, the general practitioner, the social worker, the professional police officer, the child psychologist, the career public servant and so on' (Dean, 2010, p. 153). These subject positions anthropologised a diverse architecture of social government, which included an expanded state schooling sector at primary and secondary level and the development of a National Health Service. These were just some of the instruments of a new arsenal of bio-political techniques and technologies, condensed under the ethos and vocabulary of the welfare state. This social architecture provided conduits, moreover, through which a social form of state power could circulate. This form of power would manifest itself in the welfare (and Fordist) principles and practices of mutualisation, socialisation of risk, and redistribution (Lazzarato, 2009), but also the collective solidarities and enclosures of the professions, including an increasingly unionised, secure and autonomous teaching profession which, again, would become a key target of later neo-liberal educational reforms. It is worth briefly mentioning that the teacher of welfare was indeed an autonomous and vocational subject position, and teachers enjoyed during this time (particularly from the 1950s to the mid-1970s) a 'golden age' of professional control (Le Grand, 1997), and a 'considerable degree of de facto autonomy' (Whitty, 2006, p. 3) in their practice, including decision-making over what and how to teach and assess. Also of this time was the comprehensive school, an interesting policy object which is worthy of further analysis. Indeed, whilst the *ideal* of comprehensive education embodied the principles and ethos of welfare – i.e. redistribution, egalitarianism, collectivism, concern for the social environment – in practice it was never fully committed to, and was wrought with political concessions and half-measures (see, for instance, Chitty, 2012).²⁵

I now want to turn to the present disposition of things, or to the latest iteration of policy as a transitional and transactional reality. In the next chapter, I attempt to map out some of this policy terrain – or neo-liberal policy disposition: but first I shall

²⁵ The majority of comprehensive schools would also embody and re-inscribe the tripartite system of education (which distributed students to different kinds of school according to 'ability' or 'aptitude' – Grammar, Technical and Secondary Modern) within their walls through banding and streaming. For a fuller discussion of the comprehensive school and its genealogy, see Allen (2014).

briefly introduce some of the key points of critique through and against which this transformation in the arts and crafts of government was enacted.

Towards the neo-liberal

Around the same time that the welfare state was being expanded after the Second World War, and Keynesian economics had achieved orthodoxy, a different and oppositional line of political and economic thought was being formulated and advocated by economists like Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek – the latter's *Road to Serfdom* (1944) being particularly apposite here. These ideas – formulated in what Peck and Tickell (2002) refer to as the 'proto' stage of neo-liberal historical emergence (followed by 'roll-back' and 'roll-out' phases, which I refer to in later chapters) – began to achieve political purchase in the context of the various economic crises of the 1970s, including the OPEC oil price inflation, rising unemployment, and related industrial disputes and social unrest. A notion of the 'ungovernability' of society was fuelled, including the idea that the state was governing too much and that it did not have the resources to maintain a welfare state, at least in its post-war form.

In a different and often overlooked sense, the welfare settlement was also being undermined by a number of social and political struggles over things like the right to self-determinacy and autonomy. These struggles found expression in a number of different domains and, in different ways and from different perspectives, all sought to critique and/or wrestle autonomy from a state and its apparatus conceived increasingly as patriarchal and overly bureaucratic, and authorised too much through 'rigid' and hierarchical structures and centres of expertise (Dean, 2010, pp. 180-182).

These critiques came from, for example, feminists, arguing against the objectifying and patriarchal practices of the medical professions; from Marxists, who endeavoured to show how capitalist social relations and inequalities were reproduced in and through social institutions like schools; and from the everyday and ordinary citizenry, who were increasingly expressing a desire for self-determination in the face of a perceived sense of alienation and objectification over, amongst other things, decision-making and treatment in healthcare. Adding to this mix the student and counter-cultural movements, and the so-called 'sexual revolution', it appeared as though some sections of society were demanding an existential revolution in the conception and

practice of freedom and human autonomy. This plurality of desire, emanating from a number of different locations, taken together began to articulate and disseminate 'a culture of the self and its actualization' which, in an indirect yet important way, 'intersect[ed] with neo-liberal critiques of the welfare state in the new valorization of the self-actualized subject' (Dean, 2010, pp. 181-182).

It was within this social context that the political emergence of neo-liberalism and its militant 'thought collective' (Plehwe, 2009) was able to garner some of its critical and affective purchase. Whilst it would be wrong to assume that the counter-cultural movements and the increasing urge for a politics of recognition were an internal element of neo-liberal rationality, they nonetheless contributed to the cultural, political and social backdrop – the conditions of possibility – which would be reinvested, hijacked or colonised by neo-liberal thought and its critique of the welfare state and 'big government':

Where the political and cultural movements sought a Utopian vision of the emancipated self, however, the neo-liberal critiques of the welfare state sought to redeploy the 'free subject' as a technical instrument in the achievement of governmental purposes and objectives.

(Dean, 2010, p. 182)

This new political mentality and economic formula re-invoked and transformed classic liberal ideas regarding the proper relationship between the governors and the governed, and between the state, the economy, and civil society. Indeed, the line of continuity between classic and social liberalism which saw a distinction maintained between a public and a private sphere, and between an ethos of public service and private gain, would now be erased, or at least come under sustained attack. More broadly, as Miller and Rose (2013, p. 79) argue: 'The political mentality of neo-liberalism breaks with welfarism at the level of moralities, explanations and vocabularies ... It suggests that big government is not only inefficient but also malign'. For the neo-liberals, 'big government' is a malignant force which damages the morality of citizens, in particular by fostering a 'culture of dependency' which stifles the entrepreneurial spirit. It is for this reason that

Markets are to replace planning as regulators of economic activity. Those aspects of government that welfare construed as political responsibilities are, as far as possible, to be transformed into commodified forms and regulated

according to market principles. Economic entrepreneurship is to replace regulation, as active agents seeking to maximize their own advantage are both the legitimate locus of decisions about their own affairs and the most effective in calculating actions and outcomes. And more generally, active entrepreneurship is to replace the passivity and dependency of responsible solidarity as individuals are encouraged to strive to optimize their own quality of life and that of their families.

(Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 79)

Neo-liberalism also reconstitutes the (self-) governable subject as one no longer a *natural* economic agent who pursues their own inherent self-interest, but one who is a *competitive individual*. Crucially, this is a *dispositional state* which must be constantly instituted, shaped and incited, and not the least paradoxically by the state itself: hence the diverse privatisations of public life and the public sector, the rise of a new arsenal of neo-liberal technologies of government, and the emergence of the ‘competition state’ or the state as ‘market maker’ (aspects I look at in the next chapter). Lemke (1997, p. 11) notes:

Whereas in the classic liberal conception, *homo oeconomicus* forms an external limit and the inviolable core of governmental action, in the neo-liberal thought of the Chicago School he becomes a behaviouristically manipulatable being and the correlative of a governmentality which systematically changes the variables of the ‘environment’ and can count on the ‘rational choice’ of the individuals.

The ways in which welfare and the subjects of welfare are thought about and rationalised are reformulated accordingly. As we will see with the case of *Teach First*, welfare is now about evoking the spirit, not of the social, but of *enterprise*. Enterprise means that one is to understand oneself as an individual economic unit, and one’s life as an economic game involving cost-benefit analyses of personal risks and pay-offs, investments in human capital, and learning how to work on and improve oneself – to make oneself more marketable and investable – through the help and guidance of new and various forms of expertise and pastoralism. The governable subject is now constituted as an ‘entrepreneur of himself, being for himself his own capital, being for himself his own producer, being for himself the source of his earnings’ (Foucault, 2010, p. 226). In place of the ‘social question’, *enterprise* constitutes both the *ethos* and *telos* of neo-liberal rule; it is an active cultural and governmental pursuit, a diagram of power and force relations (see next chapter). Dey (2010, pp. 7-8) notes

that 'the role of the social entrepreneur [and social enterprise] has been delineated in connection with the retreat of government-led, publicly supported welfare networks, combined with a tendency to shift responsibility to independent agents within civil society'.

We are currently witnessing the re-emergence of philanthropy, and private and voluntary provision in welfare, including in education, with similarities to nineteenth century welfare arrangements. The state has changed face, no longer practising a social and bureaucratic form of government, but instead, or rather in conjunction, preferring to govern through heterarchical networks which increasingly redraw, if not obliterate, the traditional boundaries between the public, private and voluntary sectors, and between the state, economy and civil society. The state is now actively economising 'the social' it had once brought into being. This is the shift characterised by some as from 'government' to 'governance' which is opening up the education state and its governmental terrain, once again, to new voices, logics and practices, particularly from the private sector. It is this milieu and transformational process that I will be critically exploring in subsequent chapters.

The Discourse on Policy

In the previous chapter I explored some of the history of education policy and power. This entailed a broad historical traversal of not only educational provision, but also of truth, power and the subject, of some of the changing and enduring problematics, practices and tactics of government, and some of their complex mutations and interrelations since the 6th century. I tried to show how different political rationalities and their attendant grids of power have manifest in policy, constituting different material-discursive configurations, or what I have termed *policy dispositions*. Here, I want to explore the current disposition of things, with a focus on the material and technical landscape, and the hegemonic truths and discourses, of global education policy today – what I term a *neo-liberal policy disposition*. Accordingly, I extend the analysis of truth, power and subjectivity into the present, with the overall aim of the chapter being to sketch out the contemporary policy context within which Teach First is both embedded and instrumental.

In what follows, I will emphasise the renewed and recalibrated importance of the market as a locus of truth in contemporary forms of liberal rule, and especially how *enterprise* has emerged as a distinct and dominant cultural trope and governing ethos. On the one hand, this will be to investigate the ways in which the market has been re-animated as a principal knowledge/power couplet at the heart of the rationalization of governmental practice and, in turn, the governing of education policy. On the other hand, it is to emphasise how the enterprise form has been generalised across the continuum of the conduct of government, that is, to the government of and by the state, the self and others. As I will indicate, the governing of policy today is enacted and transacted to a large degree through a techno-empiricist and *hyper-performative* policy regime. This regime or disposition of discourses, practices and technologies, together with a new ‘policy economy’ of authority, expertise and details (read data), is rendering the policy terrain legible and calculable, and thus manipulable and governable, at various junctures and levels. This is a ‘will’ to a particular kind of scientific and data-driven policy knowledge, grounded in the truths of the *competitive market* – a new ‘will to policy’. I will argue that this knowledge, in conjunction with an arsenal of governmental technologies, enables a new kind of governance ‘at a

distance'. I will also be thinking about enterprise as a reflexive form of government, which is to say that the competitive economic form is now both the ends and the means (and also the limits) of contemporary liberal government. I trace some of the manifestations of this regime of truth and mentality of rule across a number of different scales of policy practice, moving variously from and between the global, the national, and the institutional/individual. Again, I put to use *dispositif* as a methodological device and analytical tool in mapping out and exploring this disposition of elements.

This chapter is divided into two substantive sections. Firstly, I expand on my discussion in the previous chapter of neo-liberalism as a political rationality in order to illustrate the 'what' of neo-liberalism that I take forward and build upon in the rest of the thesis. Once again, I draw upon Foucault's genealogy of liberalism, and this time in order to identify some pertinent and cogent features of this contemporary art of government. In particular, I explore the 'ordo-liberal' *gesellschaftspolitik* and its radicalisation by the American neo-liberals and human capital theorists. A key aim here is to offer a more nuanced understanding of neo-liberalism by highlighting its contingency and multiplicity, whilst at the same time identifying some of its basic coherences as a distinct political rationality. In the process of doing this, I also hope to dispel the myth that neo-liberalism is essentially about limited government and faith in the free-market, arguing instead that it continues to involve 'permanent vigilance, activity and intervention' (Foucault, 2010, p. 132) on the part of the state and civil society. Developing things a little, I then present a three part schematic of the *enterprise form*, and annotate a *diagram of power* along three interrelated axes or trajectories: enterprise as governmental logic; enterprise as material, technical and architectural field; and enterprise as subjectivity. By 'diagram', I mean to invoke and operationalise fiction. That is, it refers to an illustration or depiction of relations of force, including, in this instance, the sources, targets and operations of enterprise as a form of power (governmentality). I will refer again to some corresponding policy objects and practices as points of anchorage for my argument, including a discussion of their emergence and/or transformation in relation to the (global) neo-liberal education reforms onset more or less in the 1980s.

The second substantive section of this chapter attempts to tie things together in a discussion which applies the analytical vectors of truth, power and subjectivation to

the multi-scalar manifestations of the contemporary policy regime, including at the levels of the global, national and the institutional/individual. Here, I consider more specifically some of the material, technical and subjective elements of contemporary policy, and how they form a socio-technical, *hyper-performative* formation of government. I will also evoke the image of what I call the *entreprenopticon*, a fictive device which brings the Panopticon into the present and which can be applied and used for understanding the governing of policy today. It is my intention that this chapter (and **Part 1** more generally) serves to establish the bedrock for the more empirical and molecular analyses of Teach First and the education state which I undertake in **Part 2** and **Part 3**.

What is neo-liberalism?

Contingency, multiplicity, coherence

As part of his lecture series *The Birth of Bio-politics*, Foucault (2010) traces the emergence of neo-liberal thinking in the inter-war years, and then its later development, transformations and propagation across Europe and the United States. I cannot do full justice to the complexities of this genealogy, but will pick out some cogent elements which appear to me to be important for understanding neo-liberalism and the governing of policy today.

Firstly, I should emphasise that Foucault identifies a number of different neo-liberalisms, with their own histories and contextual idiosyncrasies. For example, he explores the influential German ‘ordo-liberalism’, and both American and French neo-liberalism. This immediately indicates something of the contingency and multiplicity of neo-liberalism, of how it unfolds and operates differently in different national/local contexts. Recent scholars also emphasise the idea that neo-liberalism does not exist in a vacuum (see, for example, Apple, 2004; Dean, 2007; Dean, 2010; Ong, 2007; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Rose, 1996b). Neo-liberalism is viewed, from this perspective, as just one, albeit now dominant political rationality, which exists in amongst, sometimes over and against, a number of others. Ong (2007), for instance, conceptualises neo-liberalism as a ‘mobile technology’ which is strategically applied in different contexts in and amongst other distinct rationalities. Under this formulation, governing entails a kind of selective memory of rule, with different

practices of rule applied differentially across a territory and its population. Some of these co-existing rationalities might be distinctly opposed, whilst others, sometimes with a little concession from their traditional formulations, might be more amenable to recodification and/or 'integration'. One example is the odd yet mutually reinforcing mix of neo-liberalism and neo-conservatism in some liberal democratic states (Apple, 2004; Ball, 2010a; Brown, 2006), or what some commentators identify as the neo-liberal/social democratic fusion of New Labour, sometimes referred to as the 'Third Way' (Giddens, 2013). It is partly for this reason that Nikolas Rose and others prefer to speak of 'advanced liberalism'; a broad marker for a multiplicity of rationalities which do not necessarily derive from a coherent political philosophy, and which can take many forms.

One can, however, identify some more general or coherent features of neo-liberal rationality and 'advanced liberal' government. Simplifying things a little, one is the somewhat counterintuitive idea that the liberal state must be active in ensuring the conditions of and for the market and competition. Another is that 'enterprise' is upheld as a model of conduct and a form of efficient and effective regulation. This basic coherence emerges, according to Foucault, in the governmental innovations of the German neo-liberals (ordo-liberals), and especially their *gesellschaftspolitik*. The *gesellschaftspolitik*, or policy of society, was a social policy concerned with formalizing society 'on the model of the enterprise' (Foucault, 2010, p. 160). The German political economists of the Freiburg School sought to develop a social market economy after the Second World War in a situation where 'a market existed but no state as such' (Gane, 2012, p. 626) – what Foucault (2010) calls the 'reverse' situation of the classic liberals. In contrast to the rationality of laissez-faire, the ordo-liberals posited a decidedly anti-natural conception of the market and competition, arguing instead that these mechanisms could only be constituted and 'kept alive by dint of political interventions' (Lemke, 2001, p. 193). It is important to stress that this was indeed a *social policy* in that it aimed to take hold of the individual's life and 'make him into a sort of permanent and multiple enterprise' (Foucault, 2008, pg. 241). Its objective was, as Vrsti (2011, p. 12) argues, 'to produce a healthy and productive workforce, create a society that can thrive with only limited government intervention, and disseminate the necessary rights and freedoms for individuals to give their lives an entrepreneurial shape'. But the ordo-liberals were not simply free-market

economists; instead they argued that capitalism produces effects that are deleterious to social bonds and that, accordingly, a broader and extra-economic moral and ethical framework was required as a kind of counterweight, or rather a support, for the ‘cold’ mechanisms of the market. This moral and ethical framework was to be informed and policed by professional bureaucracies and the judiciary, but also by the Church, schools, local communities and executive government. It is significant that Wilhelm Ropke and Walter Eucken, two leading ordo-liberal protagonists, espoused the virtues and ethics of Judeo-Christianity and Christian Protestantism, respectively. For example,

Ropke mentions several *trans-economic values* – virtues that lie beyond the economy and that serve human dignity – which must be met: public spiritedness, civic mindedness, a sense of social responsibility, honesty, fairness, reciprocal altruism, moderation and self-discipline, respect of human dignity, solidarity, benevolence and Christian love ... of neighbour. In this context, the bonding and integrative forces of family, religion and local communities ... as well as parenting, socialization and education are of eminent importance in terms of embedding and enclosing markets.

(Wörsdörfer, 2013, p. 17)

As Foucault (2010, p. 242) describes it, the ordo-liberals thus articulated an ‘ambiguous rationality’ in that they envisaged a ‘society for the market and a society against the market, a society oriented towards the market and a society that compensates for the effects of the market in the realms of values and existence’. This compensatory agenda is what the ordo-liberals referred to as a *Vitalpolitik*. What is interesting, however, is that this *vitalpolitik*, ostensibly concerned with alleviating the destructive effects of laissez-faire capitalism on the moral and social bonds of individuals and society, also aims to produce and incite an entrepreneurial disposition and lifestyle, where enterprise becomes a source of pleasure, security and ‘moral obligation’ (Bonefeld, 2012, p. 37). Bonefeld (ibid, p. 37) argues:

At first sight, *vitalpolitik* appears to be a countervailing force to the destructive consequences of a free economy for the social and moral fabric of society... *Vitalpolitik* is however not a politics that opposes the logic of the market ... The purpose of *vitalpolitik* is to achieve and sustain a human economy as the foundation of enterprise.

I come back to ordo-liberalism in **Part 3**, where amongst other things I critically explore Teach First as an instance of vital politics, or *ethopolitics*.

Foucault suggests that it was through the radical innovations of the American neo-liberals, however, that a ‘much more complete and exhaustive’ (2010, p. 243) competitive economic model and rationality was formulated. In particular, as I consider below, it was the human capital theories of the Chicago School which mark one moment of this radicalisation, which made it possible for the market form to be applied as a grid of intelligibility for understanding and deciphering virtually all forms of human behaviour and social relationships. So it is this particular element – the *enterprise form* – and its modifications that I would like to focus on in the first half of this chapter, which is to say that I want to underline the fact that neo-liberalism is essentially an active policy for transforming the social fabric and the state in the image of the *competitive enterprise*. Competition is to be the regulator of both social and economic life (which, in fact, has the effect, in some cases, of obliterating the distinction between the two), and also an image to be reflected onto the practices of government, what Dean (2010, p. 175) refers to as the ‘government of government’, or ‘reflexive government’.

A final question before moving on: what is coherent and enduring about *liberal government* in this neo-liberal regime? We saw in the previous chapter how liberalism as ‘laissez faire’ required government (and discipline) to be exercised through the authority and expertise of a myriad civil agencies and agents in order to render limited political government effective – a kind of government through processes (Dean, 2010). As we will see below, neo-liberal government also requires an arsenal of instruments and authorities for securitising its practices and objectives, with individuals and organisations – and this has been particularly evident in public sector reforms – subjected to ever more and increasingly personal and invasive technologies and techniques of control and surveillance which, nonetheless, are not always perceived and experienced in a negative, subtractive way (see below and **Part 2/3**). These techniques and technologies, including the emergence of new (and re-emergence of more traditional) authorities and centres of expertise (philanthropy, private venture, social enterprise), enable the governing of and by the state to be exercised ‘at a distance’, in both a similar and different way to liberalism and welfare. These new civil authorities and their knowledges, values, norms and logics, provide the state with the material and epistemological tools for ensuring the security of the ‘good liberal’ form of life which, within the context of this new mentality of rule,

must model itself upon the moral and cultural trope of the market and *the enterprise*. The enterprise – much like the Panopticon for liberal government – is thus the blueprint for neo-liberal governance, and in a number of ways. Or rather, as I return to later, the Panopticon as a model or schematic of liberal government has been ‘enterprised’, now taking the form of an *entreprenopticon*. In the next section, then, I want to begin sketching this out by conceiving of the *enterprise form* as a diagram of power – a meta-level of the *dispositif*. Whilst annotating this diagram, I will take the opportunity to introduce some of the salient elements of what I term a *neo-liberal policy disposition*, and do so in part by referring again to a number of *policy objects and practices*.

Enterprise as diagram of power

What is involved is the generalisation of forms of ‘enterprise’ by diffusing and multiplying them as much as possible, enterprises which must not be focussed on the form of big national or international enterprises or the type of big enterprises of the state. I think this multiplication of the ‘enterprise’ form within the social body is what is at stake in neo-liberal policy. It is a matter of making the market, competition, and so the enterprise, into what could be called the formative power of society.

Foucault’s (2010, p. 148) observation above is a good starting point for thinking about enterprise as a diagram of power and blueprint for governance. As the ‘formative power of society’, enterprise is, at one and the same time: an imaginary of how things are or should be; an *instituted* relational and material field of objects, subjects and practices; and a moral/ethical compass and comportment. I want to emphasise how these power relations are apparent and affective at and between a number of different domains and levels of governance, linking up a continuum which extends from and between the state and the market, civil society, and the individual subject and his/her relationship to his/her self. Taken together, one can organise an analytics of the diagram along three axes or trajectories:

- 1) Enterprise as governmental logic
- 2) Enterprise as material, technical and architectural field
- 3) Enterprise as subjectivity

For continuity, one should bear in mind that the analytical vectors of truth, power and subjectivation are obviously embedded in the diagram, but I will comment on those more specifically in the second substantive part of the chapter.

1. *Enterprise as governmental logic*

As governmental logic, enterprise is a kind of meta-rationality which bases itself, as we have seen, on the model of the competitive market. The objective of this rationality is to actively institute and inject competition within the social body and within governmental practice itself: enterprise is hence both the end and the means of government. It is an imaginary of the social and the individual, and a kind of governmental utopia. It is a *form of representation* of how things are and ought to be, but it is also a set of *technical mechanisms* (see below) for realising that representation in the real. Very briefly, Miller and Rose (2013, p. 32) surmise that '[i]f political rationalities render reality into the domain of thought ... "technologies of government" seek to translate thought into the domain of reality, and to establish "in the world of persons and things" spaces and devices for acting upon those entities of which they dream and scheme'. Ong's (2007) distinction between big 'N' and small 'n' neo-liberalism is germane here in that it attends, as Ball (2012, p. 3) puts it, to 'both the neo-Marxist focus on the "economisation" of social life and the "creation" of new opportunities for profit [(big 'N')] ... and a Foucauldian analytics of governmentality, and particularly the production of willing, self-governing, entrepreneurial selves [(small 'n')]'. The enterprise form is implicated in both sides of Ong's formulation, and I will tease out some of the implications and analytical utility of the distinction over the course of this and later chapters.

Enterprise as logic or rationality in the arts of government is premised upon a theoretical transformation in the conception of *homo œconomicus*, from the 'natural' economic man of exchange of classic liberal political economy, to the 'synthetic' competitive individual of neo-liberal thought. Indeed, 'the stake in all neo-liberal analyses is the replacement every time of *homo œconomicus* as partner of exchange with a *homo œconomicus* as entrepreneur of himself' (Foucault, 2010, p. 226). This *neo-homo œconomicus*, or 'manipulatable man' (Olssen, 2011, p. 360), is a kind of pre-requisite for a modality of government which, firstly frames, and then actively seeks to institute and programme the broader social domain in economic terms. This

was an important artefact of the American theories of human capital and their radicalisation of the ordo-liberal *gesellschaftspolitik*, as noted earlier. Put differently, the ‘new *homo æconomicus*’ becomes the general grid of intelligibility for a governmental logic which, self-reflexively and rather paradoxically, reasons that governmental practice can be limited by rendering previously non-economic domains and subjectivities into the competitive economic form, thus constituting the (competitive market) conditions necessary for the new economic man to emerge, function and produce value, both for the state, and for him/herself. In some ways, it is therefore the individual, and not society as in liberalism, that forms the limit of the new liberal government, which goes some way to illustrating how ‘responsibilisation’ has emerged as a particularly advanced yet quotidian technology of contemporary government (Dean, 2010).

Lazzarato (2009, p. 111) also draws attention to the importance of this link between civil society and the governing of the state, a link which he sees as mediated through and transacted in anticipation of the new *homo æconomicus*:

An important aspect of the neoliberal transformation of the social is the recruitment of civil society to serve its objectives. Foucault has pinpointed to the central role of the new *homo æconomicus* in this, a figure thought of in terms of the individual as an ‘entrepreneur of oneself’, maximizing himself or herself as ‘human capital’ in competition with all other individuals.

What this results in, for Foucault, is a de-facto, generalised and multiplied competitive-economic subject and object, which are both rendered more (self) governable:

Homo æconomicus is someone who pursues his own interest, and whose interest is such that it converges spontaneously with the interests of others. From the point of view of a theory of government, *homo æconomicus* is the person who must be let alone. [*Neo-homo æconomicus*, on the other hand] is eminently governable. From being the intangible partner of *laissez-faire*, [he] now becomes the correlate of a governmentality which will act on the environment and systematically modify its variables.

(Foucault, 2010, pp. 270-271)

Modifying the variables of the environment is therefore a direct objective of the new governmental reason: the introduction of mechanisms of competition and conditions of insecurity are good examples, and I explore this in later chapters. Moreover,

enterprise and the market, as noted, are both the ends and the means of neo-liberal government. Dean (2010) calls this 'reflexive government', which, as we will see below, is evident at and between a number of scales of policy, including at and between the global and the institutional/individual.

For the time being, however, we can say that economic policies of deregulation, free-trade, corporate (supply-side) tax cuts and freedoms, and monetarist inspired public spending cuts have all been justified, in the name of this logic, in terms of ensuring the productivity of capital, and freeing up the entrepreneurial capacities of suppliers, those 'wealth generators' so heralded by Thatcher in the 1980s.²⁶ Similarly, but on a different level, public sector reforms, for example the insertion of New Public Management (NPM) systems, (endogenous and exogenous) privatisations, 'contracting-out', marketisation, and public-private partnerships (see below), have increasingly sought to render these previously non-economic domains into economic and contractible forms, and thus amenable to competitive and evaluative economic exchanges and relations of government.

Heuristically, then, enterprise as logic is about fostering and promoting competitive-economic conduct as a means for limited government, which is, in turn, to entice or, indeed, 'force' the entrepreneurial spirit out of individuals now perceived as individual producers and consumers, or subjects of human capital. This is articulated over and against the logics of welfare, substituting the socialisation of risk for individual risk, and replacing the social subject with complex needs and circumstances for the individual subject as an entrepreneur, whose social environment and position within structures of economic inequality should not, when push comes to shove, prevent him/her from conducting him/herself successfully as such (a neo-liberal truth claim that is articulated in the Teach First mission statement that I referred to in **Chapter 1** – 'No child's educational success is limited by their socio-economic background' [also see **Part 3**]). Indeed, this contributes to our understanding, at least in part, of what is happening in processes of economisation. It is, along with attending to the profit wants of capitalist enterprise, the belief in the competitive market as 'fair' allocator of resources and ideal habitat for individual progress and limited government. Of course, this 'entrepreneurial spirit' is not being

²⁶ This was also implicated in social policy, including the selling of council houses.

forced out of the individual; rather, the individual is subjected to the logics, discourses, vocabularies of self-description, and exigencies of the market, and interpellated as a particular kind of subject with which they will, nonetheless, have their own complex, multiple and indeterminate relationships. Peters (2001b, p. 19) argues:

For neo-liberals the commitment to the free market involves two sets of claims: claims for the efficiency of the market as a superior allocative mechanism for the distribution of scarce public resources, and; claims for the market as a morally superior form of political economy. Neo-liberalism as a political philosophy involves a return to a primitive form individualism: an individualism which is 'competitive', 'possessive' and construed often in terms of the doctrine of 'consumer sovereignty'.

By developing the diagram below I hope to flesh out a little more how this logic of enterprise is inscribed and articulated in the material, technical and subjective realms of the social, with a focus on education policy. As I will argue, enterprise as an element of neo-liberal rationality – a meta-level of the *dispositif* – is evident in the transformative shift to more networked modes of governance whereby new kinds of producers and providers, with new kinds of knowledges, values and expertise, are being mobilised in the governing of education. This is what Dean (2007) calls an 'unfolding-enfolding' governmental action (see below). Teach First is itself an instrumental part of this transformational process, and I explore this in a number of directions in Part 2.

2. *Enterprise as material, technical and architectural field*

Here I want to assess how the enterprise form has been materially and technologically established in the governmental terrain of policy. Burchell (1996, pp. 28-29, emphasis in original) argues that, in trying to secure its objectives, neo-liberal governments have overseen a 'generalization of an "enterprise form" to *all* forms of conduct – to the government of organizations hitherto seen as being non-economic, to the conduct of government and to the conduct of individuals themselves'. This means that, as Rose (1990, p. 145) argues, enterprise 'provides an image of a mode of activity to be encouraged in a multitude of arenas of life – the school, the university, the hospital, the GP's surgery, the factory and business organization, the family, and the apparatus of social welfare'. This generalization is evident at a number of different levels of

policy and governance. For example, it is invoked in the image of the 'contract state' or the 'competition state'. The 'competition state' refers to a form of entrepreneurial conduct of government geared towards international competitiveness within the context of neo-liberal globalisation. In other words, the governing of and by the state is about being aligned with and open to global market forces, with political government focussed on 'market-making', that is, the rendering amenable of previously non-economic domains to colonisation and exploitation by (global) capitalist enterprise (aspects of big 'N' neo-liberalism); marketization and especially the creation of quasi-markets are particularly apposite here. As Cerny (1990, p. 230) notes, the conduct of the *competition state* is 'to act more like a market player, that shapes its policies to promote, control, and maximise returns from market forces in an international setting'.

The enterprise form is also manifested in contemporary modes of network governance, with the state 'catalyzing ... all sectors – public, private and voluntary – into action to solve their community problems' (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992, p. 20). Here, the governing of and by the state involves a reflexive action whereby the norms, authority and technical capacities of civil society – and particularly those of business, philanthropy and social enterprise – are mobilised in an attempt to 'stream-line' central state operations and public expenditures, and to maintain a competitive edge in the global marketplace. Again, this is what Dean (2007, p. 116) means by the unfolding-enfolding action of the new liberal government, what he calls a form of 'liberal police':

This liberal police works by two distinct but related operations: an 'unfolding' of the formerly political sphere into civil society and an 'enfolding' of the regulations of civil society into the political ... This is illustrated today by the linkages, networks, partnerships and 'joining up' of state organizations with the commercial, local and voluntary bodies found in civil society.

We can perhaps see that both of the above examples – the competition state and network governance – indicate some of the ways in which the governing of and by the state is manifesting the logic of enterprise. But we can also see this logic in action at the institutional level of education policy and reform. The English educational reforms which have been gathering pace since the 1980s provide a number of good

examples; we must also remember that such reforms are now global in scope, what Sahlberg (2011) calls the Global Education Reform Movement, or GERM.

The Conservative education reforms of the 1980s, the general trajectories of which have been both intensified and inflected by subsequent political administrations in a process which Ball (2008a) describes as a 'ratchet effect', have been about rendering education systems and schools, to put it simply, into the economic form. Loosely captured under the rubric of 'marketisation', a series of different reforms relating to things like, on the one hand, school choice, decentralisation, diversification, accountability, flexibilisation, and on the other, centralisation and standardisation, have enacted a transformation of the material and relational field of policy. Both neo-liberal and neo-conservative rationalities are significant here.

If we take contemporary policy objects like academies and free schools as examples, we can see that they, like their older cousin, the grant-maintained school, evince an economic and entrepreneurial form. They are 'free', both rhetorically and in practice, from local authority 'control', and hence characterise the partial rupture in the material and relational diagram of welfare; they have autonomy over curriculum content and pedagogy, the idea being that they can be 'innovative' in pursuit of improved performance; they have more flexibility when it comes to labour, with more freedoms over 'hiring and firing' and setting terms of employment; they provide the diversity of provision and choice in the marketplace; and they also allow for the participation of new actors in the field of government. Whilst it is also important to note the centralising tendencies evident in their direct accountability to the Secretary of State for Education, and that most free-schools are essentially conservative in substantive form (indicating that shifting relationship between Church and state that I discussed in the previous chapter, and the import of neo-conservatism), these kinds of institutions are also generative conduits through which particular knowledges, discourses and logics, but also people with different kinds of subjectivities and aspirations, can flow into the public domain of education, and through which private and economic interests are being served, and in a number of ways (Ball, 2007; Ball, 2008b; Ball, 2012; Ball and Youdell, 2008; Hatcher, 2006; Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013). It is, amongst others, the knowledge and expertise of the private sector and social enterprise which is being mobilised and channelled through these new kinds of institutional forms (see **Part 2**). Academy sponsors provide financial support, but also

advise on things like governance, management, curriculum and institutional specialisms. Many academies are now run by charities and social enterprises, such as Absolute Return for Kids (ARK), Academies Enterprise Trust (AET), and the Harris Group, and many are sponsored by philanthropic ventures (Ball, 2012; Olmedo, 2014; Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013). Teach First, moreover, recruits and trains teachers, with direct economic, infrastructural, technical and epistemological input from the private sector. These new providers, enterprises and 'benefactors', through the vital policy networks of which they are a part, are providing state services and undertaking governmental responsibilities under contract and with central budgetary funding. (In 2013-2014, the Coalition government pledged £33.4 million to Teach First for the training of 1,250 teachers).²⁷

So we have various kinds of economic institutions colonising and governing the education state, both directly and indirectly, and education more generally is being opened up to the world and logics of private enterprise; but enterprise in fact goes much deeper than this, to the more molecular level of policy and educational reform.

Over the past thirty years or so, educational reforms have also rendered the internal and relational environments of the school into the competitive economic form. This has been transacted through dual processes of what Hatcher (2000) calls *endogenous* and *exogenous* privatisation. This refers to the ways in which the working cultures of schools have been reformed to be more like private enterprises (endogenous), and to the new opportunities being opened up for private provision and profit in education (exogenous).

The Conservative policies of school choice and Local Management of Schools (LMS) legislated in the 1980s and 1990s and, of course, taken on, in some slightly different ways, by New Labour (for a detailed account of these policy developments, see Ball, 2010a) are a good, though not exclusive, example of the former (endogenous). LMS was a key policy of the 1988 Education Reform Act and formed part of a broader shift towards a New Public Management (NPM) model of public sector governance – a vital neo-liberal technology. LMS made schools responsible for their own budgets, services, plant and estates, redistributing power and control away from LEAs. As a consequence and in effect, schools would now function as individual business units,

²⁷ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/teach-first-to-recruit-more-top-graduates>

buying in services from external providers (exogenous privatisation), and, as a result of 'school choice' policies, competing for clients (parents/students) in a competitive quasi-marketplace. With the rolling-out and intensification of new forms of high-stakes and standardised testing, coupled with performance information being made available to the public through, for instance, league-tables at the local, national and, with PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment), the international levels, the state and others would now ensure that market information was collected, collated and made available. These ingredients, added to the policy of per-capita funding where 'school 'income' [is] overwhelmingly driven by recruitment' (Ball, 2010a, p. 81), reconstituted the school and cast it in a new light. It would now, as Ball (2012, p. 36) formulates it, be 'homological with the firm'.²⁸

These examples have served to illustrate how the enterprise form has been realised and embedded, or manifested, in the material and governing terrain of policy, both through processes of what one could call 'economisation', that is, the 'opening up' of policy and educational provision to private capitalist and social entrepreneurial organisations, and through endogenous 're-programming' of existing material and relational dynamics through policy reforms. These reforms have sought to *install*, *upgrade* and *service* the education state with three broad 'mechanisms of change' (Ball, 2010a, p. 101): the market, managerialism and performativity. Before looking at these more technical elements more closely, including their relationship to the dispositional axis of truth, we need to explore the diagram in relation to subjectivity and, in particular, human capital theory and the fabrication of the entrepreneurial self.

3. *Enterprise as subjectivity*

In the previous chapter I referred to Foucault's (2010) comment that the neo-liberal subject is fabricated in the human capital theories of the Chicago School as 'an entrepreneur of himself' who must create value for him/herself. This subject is, if we recall, 'his own form of capital' which he/she must invest in. The Chicago School economist Gary E. Becker (1962, p. 9) described human capital as 'activities that influence future real income through the imbedding of resources in people'.

²⁸ It is important to note that many schools resisted the temptation to convert to GM status, and valued the support of the LEAs, as do many contemporary academies, however other elements of the 1988 and later Reform Acts meant that some institutional and relational change was inevitable.

‘Resources’ can be physical or psychic, quantitative or qualitative, and according to the theory can also be genetic and cultural. Some of these resources can supposedly be ‘imbedded’ through activities like ‘schooling, on-the-job training, medical care, vitamin consumption, and acquiring information about the economic system’ (p. 9): human capital is hence bio-political, as I come back to in later chapters. Investing in these resources, so the argument goes, increases the stock or the value of the individual, and at a wider level, the population. It follows, then, that the good enterprising subject is *responsible* for their own investments. They must maximise their human capital, and calculate the costs and benefits of the choices on offer to them. The enterprising subject hence views a whole manner of experiences and decisions in terms of economic inputs and outputs. Life-long learning is a good example in that it accepts and presupposes a degree of volatility in the currency of human capital which, in turn, presupposes a need for risk-taking, adaptability and agility, and together resembles the risks and opportunities implicated in financial markets – a financialization of the social and the subject (see **Part 2**). Education and training, from this perspective, becomes an economic investment in the self. It becomes a commodity which can be folded into a perpetual process of ‘life as portfolio’. One can observe this game of human capital, as I look at again in the next chapter, in the Teach First *Leadership Development Programme* (LDP). Participants are told, for instance, that:

The programme isn’t only about what you can give – it’s also about enhancing your own career possibilities.

(Teach First - graduate recruitment brochure)

Enterprise as a style of reasoning is therefore embodied in the various ‘conceptions of the person that [it] seeks to inculcate – such as the active citizen, the consumer, the enterprising subject’ (Lukes, 2005, p. 96). These are themes and subjectivities that have received political endorsement in education; the OECD, for example, has been particularly active in policy and advocacy concerned with human capital development, including the relationship between education and the security of the global ‘knowledge economy’. As the OECD publication, *Human Capital: How what you know shapes your life* (2007), explains:

Economic success crucially relies on human capital – the knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes that allow people to contribute to their personal and social well-being, as well as that of their countries ... Given its significance for economic and social development, human capital has long been a priority subject for the OECD, which is heavily involved in education; working to develop understandings of how teaching and learning can be improved in the classroom and helping education systems in member countries to learn from each other's successes and failures. Best known, perhaps, is the OECD's PISA programme, which measures the competencies of 15-year-old students in more than 40 countries around the world.

We also see the same themes and subjectivities in other domains of welfare, such as in the governing of what was previously known as social security. Recent Coalition 'workfare' policy has, for instance, legislated for the removal of 'benefits' from young people who are not 'active or learning'.²⁹ These 'active and self-actualizing' subjectivities, as different modes of 'seeing and being', are vital to a governmental power which 'works', in part, by 'constructing and maintaining the forms of subjectivity most appropriate to a given type of social practice/governmental rationality' (Du Gay, 1996, p. 54). Crucially, as Du Gay (1996, p. 54, citing Minson, 1985, pp. 44-45) continues, 'Subjectivities are constituted by, and rendered instrumental to, a particular form of power through the medium of knowledges or technical *savoir faire* "immanent to that form of power"'. In this instance, governmental power and the competitive market as a locus of truth form a couplet which manifests itself in the 'making up' (Hacking, 1986), in various domains and situations, of a person who makes sense within the strictures and requirements of competitive market exchanges: welcome the entrepreneur (consumer, producer, innovator, leader, teacher-leader, policy entrepreneur, *edupreneur* etc.). I will be exploring this process in relation to the Teach First participants in later chapters.

But one may ask that, if freedom is a necessary condition and correlate of modern forms of governmentality, how are these subjectivities realised without being imposed? The answer is, initially, a simple one: the subject is ostensibly free to decide how to comport her/himself from a range of possibilities. For the 'good liberal' citizen, however, subjectivity is a matter of ethics:

²⁹ See, for example, the Guardian article 'Lib Dems agree unemployed should work for benefits' - <http://www.theguardian.com/politics/2013/oct/03/nick-clegg-lib-dems-workfare>

Power is exercised over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free. By this we mean individual or collective subjects who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realized. Where the determining factors saturate the whole there is no relationship of power.

(Foucault, 1982, p. 221)

This is not say that liberalism is devoid of coercion and sanction, and again ‘workfare’ is particularly apposite here. Indeed, Dean has identified what he calls ‘authoritarian liberalism’, and I look at that in relation to policy in **Part 3**. The point for now, however, is that the enterprising subject is a non-determined and unstable entity because ‘free subjects’ may not be ‘willing’ to play the game.³⁰ This is where the study of governmentality can be most useful, in that it explores the various authorities and forms of authority, and the technologies, implicated in the governing of selves and others. Technologies of government – like Teach First – constrain and enable ways of being. They ‘touch’ individuals at the level of their emotions, desires, fears and ‘pleasures’, and attempt to regulate bodies and their present and future conduct.

Whilst technologies of government and their discursive and non-discursive techniques may not result in a ‘complete’ subject, they do nonetheless change the ways in which people understand themselves, others, and what they do. Lazzarato (2004) describes how subjectivity is constrained through the production of ‘worlds’ within and in relation to which the individual must make sense, both to themselves and to others. We saw this in the opening chapter with the ‘dangerous yet familiar’, ‘problematic yet transformable’ *world* that was constructed during the opening ceremony of the Teach First conference – those policy problems of security, and the solutions of enterprise – and I look at this again in relation to Teach First, in different ways, in **Parts 2 and 3**. In a rather poetic way, Gordon (1991, p. 48) poses the central question of subjectivity as concerning the ways in which, ‘to the extent that the governed are engaged, in their individuality, by propositions and provisions of government, government makes its own rationality intimately their affair’.

³⁰ These ‘free subjects’, however, must bear the consequences for ‘not playing’.

In the next section, I will try and bring these different strands together more coherently. In particular, I describe what I call the *hype-performative* policy regime which characterises the policy present, and refer back to my key analytical axes: truth, power and subjectivation.

A neo-liberal policy disposition: a *hyper-performative* regime

I have explored previously how different epistemological and teleological motivations have been articulated in different historical practices of government and education policy. For example, I noted how the truths of salvation and a pastoral ‘proto’ art of government were intimately tied to the early formation of education systems linked to the Church; how knowledges of the state and its internal processes, driven by a self-perpetuating art of state reason, were manifest in the early development of state education systems in, for example, Prussia; how the market as a site of veridiction was inscribed in the ‘laissez faire’ and disciplinary approaches to policy of eighteenth and early nineteenth century England; and how knowledge of ‘the social’ was implicated in the governing of and by a social state which would endeavour to care for its citizens ‘from cradle to the grave’ through the authority and autonomy of various social and welfare professionals. To understand what is going on in the present, we need again to consider what kind of truth is being coupled with policy practices.

As I have argued above, what we see in contemporary policy (and government) is an active institution and incitement to the *enterprise form* in accordance with what one could term ‘positive’ market knowledge. I have thus been arguing that the *competitive market* is the new regime of truth in the contemporary arts and crafts of government and policy. This is not perceived as a *natural* and fenced-off site of truth as it was in the liberal regime, but one *positively instituted* within the very fabric of government and the social body, including in formerly non-economic domains such as the public sector.

In relation to education policy, we can see this dispositional axis of truth captured in Ozga’s (2008) rather apt notion of ‘governing knowledge’. With this term, Ozga is referring to the regime of performance data which is, through its extraction, collection, computation, comparison, consumption and evaluation, utilised in the

forming, regulating and governing of policy and education systems. This kind of market knowledge provides the fuel and the means – the *currency* – for ‘government without government’ at multiple scales of policy. Performance data constitutes the necessary (liberal) distance between the governors and the governed, and at the same time enables policy to be *steered* ‘at a distance’ from centres of calculation, including from state and civil agencies. This performance data is attributed scientific validity – it is *scientized* – and presents itself as neutral and valid (what is referred to in policy and political circles as ‘what works’ policy, i.e. free from ideology). This is a new kind of ‘will to policy’, a *techno-policy-empiricism* grounded in the competitive market. ‘Governing knowledge’ as scientific performance data, then, couples with a form of power – a neo-liberal governmentality – which constitutes and works through, on the one hand, the subject as a responsible entrepreneur, and on the other, a vast and heterogeneous socio-technical terrain of policy (institutions, organisations, practices, technologies). The subject and the organisation, in cognisance of and in relation to this ‘true’ knowledge, are interpolated into the regime of numbers, and rendered accountable and responsible for their own actions, which are then open to calculation, evaluation and audit, both by the self and others. Ozga (2008, citing Power, 1999, p. 4) argues:

The emergence of a new ethics and politics of governance in which ‘a particular style of formalised accountability’ has become a ruling principle signals a new rationality of government, a neo-liberal governmentality. The new governance promotes the collection and use of comparative data on performance as a way of controlling and shaping behaviour.

Building on the diagram of enterprise annotated above, we can trace the manifestations of this kind of market truth and its regulatory effects at the global scale of policy, for example in the OECDs PISA programme or the international *Teach For All* network, and at the more molecular scale of policy, such as in the *hyper-performative* environment of the school or the Teach First programme (see **Part 2**). It is also manifest in many of the new spaces and objects which mediate between these extreme ends of the scale, such as the increasing influence of edu-businesses and social enterprises, along with their corporate and business partners. These policy objects and the technologies of government which they both serve and are subservient to, and embed and join-up, provide the material, technical and anthropological relays for the circuitry and circulation of power across the different scales of policy practice.

Let's have a look at some of these technologies of government, including *performativity*, and their affectivity across the policy scale.

Technologies of government 'work' on a discursive but also a material level. They are 'hybrid assemblages of knowledges, instruments, persons, systems of judgement, buildings and spaces, underpinned at the programmatic level by certain presuppositions and objectives about human beings' (Rose, 1996c, p. 132). I have already detailed some of the presuppositions and objectives of the neo-liberal rationality, in particular those that stem from the various connotations of the enterprise form: the new *homo æconomicus*, enterprise as end and means of government, human capital theory, and the active, responsible and entrepreneurial subject. Neo-liberal technologies of, for example, the market, managerialism and performativity, all function to institute and regulate, on the one hand, a competitive field of relations (for example, competition between schools, teachers, educational service providers, students, parents), and on the other, a self-governing yet malleable subject/object. This is part of what Peck and Tickell (2002) mean when they refer to neo-liberalism which is both 'out there' and 'in here'. For a market to function through the so-called 'rational choices' of the individual as entrepreneur, a constant stream of *market information* is required to inform choice and, with that, policymaking. In relation to education, this information is captured and analysed at and between a number of different levels, and is brought to bear not only on organisations but also individual practitioners and, increasingly now, nation states.

Performance data on an international scale is collected and analysed, for example, by the OECD and its PISA programme – a global performative and market technology. There are other international initiatives, such as UNESCO's *Education for All* which collects performance data from, and sets performance targets for, national education systems, and particularly targets the politically and economically vulnerable nations of the Global South, rendering them amenable to neo-liberal performative and managerial reforms (Connell, 2015). At a more national level, as mentioned earlier, publicly available and annually published school league tables, along with things like Ofsted reports, provide 'up-to-date' market information on schools – *vital signs*. These vital signs help, parents to exercise school choice, teachers to find a 'good' place to work, government, via Ofsted, to identify 'failing' and 'outstanding' schools, and Teach First to classify and enclose 'Teach First schools' and their 'risky'

populations. At a more local and institutional level, performance data is extracted from individual teachers and their classes, and deliberated. Teachers (and students) are subject to a regime of performative practices and technologies, including audits, inspections, performance reviews, 'reflective' self-reviews and departmental meetings, to name just a few. These various mundane and everyday technologies help to constitute what Ball (2003) refers to as a 'culture of performativity'. This *performative* culture is not only evident within schools, but also, as just suggested, on a global scale through international comparisons, knowledge transfer and consumption. Ball (2012, p. 29) argues:

Attending to these practices will also begin to help us think about the ways in which neo-liberalism is realised in mundane and immediate ways in our institutions of everyday life, and the ways it 'does us' – speaks and acts through our language, purposes, decisions and social relations.

Performative technologies work on and through individuals and organisations, and also nation states, marking them out and making them visible. They differentiate, individualise and constrain (discipline) through the perpetual collection, collation and calculation of small details which taken together encompass a totalizing regime of control and surveillance: '[Performativity] is both individualizing and totalizing. It produces both an active docility and depthless productivity. It operates within a framework of judgement within which what "improvement" and effectiveness are, is determined for us, and "indicated" of us by measures of quality and productivity' (Ball, 2012, p. 31). Performativity therefore manifests and instrumentalises the competitive regime of market truth because it defines and shapes policy practice through a 'headlong pursuit of relevance as defined by the market' (Falk, 1999, p. 25). However, it is also important to recognise that these technologies of performance are not simply repressive and negative; they can also be rewarding, both materially and emotionally. One can feel proud of one's own performance, fulfilled in the knowledge that results were better than last year and that one is contributing to the success of the school. A teacher can be remunerated for performance, as in performance related pay, with their reputation preceding them, for good or for ill. The temporal nature of performativity, however, means that audit and comparison is constant – one must not and, indeed, cannot rest on one's laurels. Performativity is 'Damoclesean', that is, it hangs precariously like a sword above the 'heads' of organisations, workers and

nation states. A good set of results one year does not mean good results the next, and one never knows when the sword might fall.

One is to always be in a state of anxious and readied performativity, with the myriad agents, agencies and technologies – Ofsted, internal school inspections, performance ‘trackers’ and indicators, national high-stakes testing and accountability reviews, PISA, etc. – casting a panoptic gaze across the multiple sites and scales of policy performance, a space which these technologies themselves help to constitute. These techniques and technologies are designed to try and make us more responsible and more self-governing. However, as Ball (2012, pp. 31-32) explains:

In a sense it is about making the individual into an enterprise ... a self-maximising productive unit operating in a market of performances ... [Yet] there is a marked paradox here in that these techniques, which rest upon the granting of greater autonomy and processes of deconcentration within education systems, provide the state with new modes of governing society and the economy and shaping individuals and individual conduct – these are the new arts of government!

These technologies are also physical and have physical effects, and are no doubt implicated in the stress-related health problems increasingly reported by teachers and students. Performativity is a violent form of power, including in the physical sense.

A neo-liberal disposition of enterprise, audit and judgement replaces, at least in part, a welfare disposition of planning and socialised intervention. Individuals are to look out for and manage themselves as subjects of human capital. Educational institutions are to be autonomous, incited to function as enterprising business units, efficiently economising their inputs and overheads in order to maximise their outputs. Schools, along with things like teacher training institutions (including Teach First), must compete in the market for clients, selling their particular brand of pedagogy and learning, and market themselves on the basis of their ‘track-record’ of performance, their enlightened ‘vision’, and their particular ‘modernity’. If their track-record is not as good as their neighbour’s, or ‘competitor’s’, and if their *vital signs* are weak, then they can be targeted for interventions by the state, or opened up to tender for management by the private sector. Running through all of this is the idea of the government of populations and of the state, and the government of the self by the self; this is governmentality and bio-politics writ-large across the new global terrain of

education policy, and within which Teach First and its participants are an active, yet also vulnerable part (see **Part's 2 & 3**). Although individuals and organisations are to be autonomous and self-governing, at the same time they become ever more visible through this increasingly prominent yet insidious regime of numbers that governs education on a global, national and local, even individual level. These numbers mark out and homogenise a global policy space of comparison and consumption, rendering this space legible, calculable, and thus manipulable. Indeed, Lingard, Martino and Rezai-Rashti (2013) refer to the increasing constitution of new spaces, scales, geographies and 'legibilities' of policy, through which policy problems and solutions are identified, shared and advocated. We should also bear in mind Ball's (2012, p. 14) point, however, that policy problems are 'in part at least, constructed discursively'. I explore the Teach First *problem space of government* in **Part 3**.

Central to the rescaling of policy has therefore been the homogenisation of global education systems into a legible space of numbers and performance data. At the same time, this data, or 'governing knowledge', is central to the operations and policy work (and profits), as noted above, of international organisations like the OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, but also edu-businesses like Pearson. Pearson uses performance data as a tool for identifying weaknesses and 'stragglers' in education systems, and then fashions policy solutions which can be marketed and sold to schools and governments for profit. Pearson sells things like consultancy, school improvement packages and curriculum resources, that is, it sells knowledge of a particular kind.

Perhaps one way of conceiving all this is through the image of the *entreprenopticon*, that is, as a disciplinary and entrepreneurial architecture of government. Bentham's panopticon as a model of liberal government was about the state supervising and keeping a watchful eye over behaviour, exchange and economic life, including the market, and respecting the perceived natural order of things. But this formula, I suggest, has now been *enterprised* and subjected to the logics of the competitive market. The latter is now viewed as synthetic – although Hayek (1944) maintained it was the product of cultural evolution – and applicable across the conduct of government. The state is itself now subject to the competitive market form, and hence is subject to its logics and rationalities, practices and truths. Moreover, the legibilities of calculation and performance that I described above also in some respects provide a currency for the social markets, and that is in terms of investments, outputs, returns,

or *bases of exchange* (see next chapter). Performance, one might say, is capital. The panoptic gaze is still a feature, but where is the gaze fixed and what does it hope to see? It hopes to see, firstly, that the very architecture of governance is functioning as a competitive enterprise (competition state, network governance, public-private partnerships, quasi-markets), and secondly, that individuals are conducting themselves appropriately as entrepreneurs (we saw this *entreprenoptic* gaze in the initial analysis of Challenge 2012 in the opening chapter, i.e. lines of visibility, and I return to this again later). It is the disciplinary and competitive technologies of, for example, performativity – but we could also add responsabilisation, managerialism, the market, amongst others – which constitute and coerce individuals as superintendents of their own selves in accordance with the strictures of the competitive market. As Gane (2012, p. 612) similarly argues in his discussion of a *post-Panoptic society*:

[I]f the Panopticon is a model of governmentality within which the state is said to watch over and thereby discipline the market, what of a post-panoptic or neo-liberal arrangement whereby the market increasingly structures the form and activities of the state? For Foucault, such an arrangement involves a different type of surveillance, as watching is displaced by active intervention into the state and its activities; a development ... that is accompanied by the formulation of new measures that work to promote competition and enterprise wherever they are deployed.

In conclusion, we can say that the *neo-liberal policy disposition* is a performative and entrepreneurial regime. It comprises a myriad enterprising organisations, some of which we have looked at above: academies, free-schools, and the ‘enterprising up’ of schools more generally; social enterprises like Teach First and ARK, and edu-businesses, philanthropies, and firms. Related to these new kinds of institutions are novel subjectivities and agents of expertise: policy entrepreneurs, school ‘leaders’, teacher-leaders; and new policy authorities in business and social enterprise, and also the science of statistics (Andreas Schleicher of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD] being a prominent example, alongside Tymms and Slavin, and Eric Hanushek). International organisations like the OECD, the World Bank and UNESCO, along with their programmes and initiatives, are also key material and technical dispositional elements, and all are instrumental in the globalisation of policy in neo-liberal form. In fact, the genealogy of the OECD is

particularly interesting for an analytics of power. As the OEEC³¹ (1948-1961), it was influential in the organisation and delivery of the Keynesian inclined Marshall Plan in the post-War reconstruction of Europe. Over the last 30 years or so, and rebranded as the OECD (1961-present), it has carved out a technical niche and position of authority in economic policy, but also in education. It has thrived in the performative and *audited* episteme of policy and government, and at the same time made an enterprise of itself, through membership fees and charges for services. As Sellar and Lingard (2013, p. 7) argue:

Comparison is now central to governance as it operates across multiple layers. The OECD has proselytised for these changes linked to the neo-liberal globalisation of the economy and has enhanced importance in this context, especially in education. The steering at a distance mode of governance associated with the restructured state at national level and new public management has witnessed a more significant use of data in policy processes. The OECD has strengthened its hand as a centre of technical expertise, data collection and data analysis, at a time when data have become central to the new governance at both global and national level.

The OECD has also been instrumental in the material and epistemological configuration (and coordination) of global policy networks. It is itself a kind of epistemological and entrepreneurial *hub*: it comprises a global network of member states, and, as it describes itself, ‘provides a forum in which governments can work together to share experiences and seek solutions to common problems’.³² But it is also active in joining-up various and diverse policy communities and actors in its research and advocacy work. Similarly, Teach First is a ‘hub’ of knowledge and practice, and is a leading member of the global Teach For All policy network (see Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013). I explore some of this ‘constructivist’ and ‘roll-out’ work in relation to Teach First in Part 2, to which I now turn.

³¹ The Organisation for European Co-operation.

³² <http://www.oecd.org/about/>

Part Two: Transformation

Teach First, the Education State, and the Making and Shaping of the Neo-Liberal Teacher

A transformation that remains within the same mode of thought, a transformation that is only a way of adjusting the same thought more closely to the reality of things can merely be a superficial transformation.

(Foucault, 1988b, p. 155)

Teach First is a new policy authority of conduct. It is an *artefact of power* which owes an epistemological and ontological debt, amongst other things, to the emergence and hegemony of a new *dispositif* of liberal governmentality. As we have seen, this *dispositif* is underpinned by a mentality which ‘implores’ (in somewhat paradoxical fashion) limited government by the state, preferring governance to be exercised ‘from a distance’ in a novel fashion, by recruiting civil society to serve its objectives. Teach First is just one of many such new civil authorities which are doing governing work ‘at a distance from’ but also, as we will see, in the interests of and according to the rhythms of the state. It embodies an historical and contingent version of the ‘good life’ and the ‘good liberal citizen’ which is endorsed by political authority through continued and increasing financial and symbolic investment, and links up with a network of other civil society agencies and actors, some of whom are its official ‘partners’ and ‘allies’, who together, by bringing new ideas and values, discourses and logics into play constitute the education state in a new way. In particular, it is, as we will see further evidence of below, the logics, values and expertise of business and the private sector which are being mobilised in the governing of teachers, policy and society. It is in this way, in the unfolding-enfolding of government, that Teach First and its ‘friends’ form an authoritative part of a new ‘liberal police’ (Dean, 2007), and transact and constitute the mobile and strategic effect of the neo-liberal state.

As I argued in the previous chapter, the recruitment of civil society to serve governmental and policy objectives is currently premised upon a new theoretical construct, or fabrication (Popkewitz, 2004; Popkewitz, 2013), of the ideal ‘(self-) governable’ subject, that is, the *new homo œconomicus*. This governable subject – a

competitive entrepreneur and *subject of human capital* – is no longer taken as a natural economic being who must be left alone, as in classic liberalism. On the contrary, this subject is now viewed as eminently malleable, in part through the manipulation and modification of environmental variables; and ‘nudge’ economics and behaviouralism are good examples of this (see, for instance, Leggett, 2014). This is the logic of enterprise in the arts of government, wherein the competitive market form is, at one and the same time, the end, the means and the limits of governmental practice. I have tried to sketch out how this logic activates, and is articulated through, what I have called a *hyper-performative policy regime*, at multiple scales of practice and performance, in which ‘the state ... see[s] to it that each one makes a “continual enterprise of ourselves” ... in what seems to be a process of “governing without governing”’ (Olssen, 1996, p. 340). In this and the next chapter, one of my overarching objectives is to illustrate how this logic is manifest and transacted through the Teach First programme and in the subjectivities and conducts of the participants.

Teach First does more than ‘merely’ undertake ‘statework’ or governmental responsibilities. It is also instrumental in the *entreprenoptic* process whereby the very ‘social’ which the state itself had helped to form for the fulfilment and vitality of governmental objectives (in accordance with a social form of liberalism), is itself now economised and subjected to the logics of the competitive market. As I have argued, the *entreprenopticon* – a diagram that enables us to ‘think with eyes and hands’ (Latour, 1986) – is emblematic of the ideal conduct of neo-liberal rule. This *diagram of power* is evident in the entrepreneurial governing of and by the state (network governance, PPP, privatisations, ‘the new contractualism’, NPM, etc.), the ‘enterprising-up’ (Ball, 2012) of the public sector (including institutions, workers and ‘clients’), and, as I look at below and in the next chapter in relation to Teach First, the ‘rolling-out’ (Peck and Tickell, 2002) and consolidation of neo-liberal institutional forms and practices, subjectivities and ‘technologies of change’, within and in relation to the education state (and beyond). The *entreprenopticon* is therefore a useful image and device for visualising and analysing some of the protracted processes through which the (education) state is being rendered *into* the competitive economic form (in a number of ways) *by* the competitive economic form. It also serves as a diagram, as I will show below, for tracing and isolating *some* of the complex power relations,

technologies and transactions of Teach First as a *dispositif of power*. To reiterate the point made by Burchell (2006, p. xxiii), this is to analyse Teach First as ‘a configuration or arrangement of elements and forces, practices and discourses, power and knowledge, that is both *strategic* and *technical*’.

This chapter is organised into two main parts. Firstly, I sketch out quite broadly the programmatic alliance between Teach First and political authority, and how the social enterprise enacts and instrumentalises a process of neo-liberal constructivism, or neo-liberalisation (taken further and augmented at a more molecular level in the following chapter). In doing this, I also situate Teach First within the shift to what Peck and Tickell (2002) call ‘roll-out’ neo-liberalism. The second part of the chapter is more complex. It attends to the ways in which Teach First ‘works’ to consolidate/install the vital neo-liberal technologies of the market, managerialism/leadership and performativity within the education state, and especially in the shaping and training of a new kind of ‘effective teacher’. In doing this, I also try and demonstrate some of the ways in which processes of big ‘N’ and small ‘n’ neo-liberalism are flowing through and being generated by the Teach First Leadership Development Programme (LDP).

Teach First and the education state

Policy authority, policy constructivism and the language of partnership

Since launching in Canary Wharf in 2002, Teach First has steadily increased and expanded its operational capacity, both nationally and substantively (after an initial period of consolidation). The first (2003) cohort comprised 186 participants, the latest (2014) 1400, with recruitment likely to continue rising. Initially only placing teachers in secondary schools, Teach First has also now moved into the primary sector (as of 2011) and there is now (2014) a second cohort being deployed in Early Years settings. The extension and expansion of the programme has been a key policy of the Coalition government:

Teach First’s reach will be extended so that young children get better quality early education and the early years profession gets the respect it deserves ... From 2013, 20 recruits will be working with younger children. There will be another roll-out in September 2014.

(Department for Education, 2013)³³

Teach First has made steady regional advances, from London into the Midlands and the North East and West, now occupying parts of the coastal regions in the South, and in 2013 crossed the border into Wales. The enterprise (along with *Teach For America*) also occupies a key strategic and advocacy position in the global *Teach For All* policy network (see Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013). *Teach For All* comprises 35 partner organisations, and itself continues to 'grow'. Its global mission is to

Expand educational opportunity around the world by increasing and accelerating the impact of social enterprises that are cultivating the leadership necessary for change.³⁴

Teach First currently accounts for about three per cent of newly qualified teachers in England. It is, however, the largest single teacher training institution in the country, and the targeted nature of the placements (i.e. in 'Teach First schools'),³⁵ along with the fact that Teach First figures as a favourable, symbolic and visible policy example in ongoing moves towards more flexible and school-based teacher training and recruitment (other examples are Teach Now, Troops to Teachers, Teach Direct, the legal right to employ non-qualified teaching staff in academies and free-schools), means that this presence is perhaps greater than the sum of its parts.³⁶ There is also the Teach First *ambassador network*, 'made up of a community of innovators and influencers, working together to shape the future of education',³⁷ from within and beyond the traditional borders of the education state, and I refer to some of these ambassadors, their careers, enterprises and/or start-ups in later chapters.

Teach First has been able to expand its operations and increase its capacity in part through the continued and increasing financial support it receives from the public purse. The programme is also endorsed in policy and political discourse, appearing regularly, and favourably, in various government (and other) policy texts. Whilst

³³ Available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/teach-first-leadership-development-programme-extended-to-cover-early-years>

³⁴ <http://www.teachforall.org/about/vision-and-mission>

³⁵ Determined by 50% of students being eligible for Free School Meals (FSM).

³⁶ For a breakdown of teacher training allocations for the academic year 2013-2014, see: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/229468/SFR_ITT_locations_August_2013.pdf

³⁷ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/leadership-development-programme/beyond-teach-first>

certainly divisive of opinion, it is often portrayed in the popular media as a common-sense policy, and a worthy, 'charitable' and innovative cause (a recent documentary of the organisation – *Tough Young Teachers* – has aired on primetime terrestrial television). Brett Wigdortz has also been invited to sit as an authority on policy advisory panels, such as the *2011 Independent Review into Teachers' Standards*.³⁸

Teach First is a brilliant idea: absolutely everyone wins.

(Headline from the Daily Telegraph)³⁹

There is no question that teaching standards have increased in this country in recent decades and that the current cohort of trainees is one of our best ever. But we have much further to go. We have already increased investment in the fantastic Teach First programme which will be doubled in size and train primary teachers for the first time. This White Paper goes much further in raising standards and giving outstanding schools a much greater role in teacher training in the same way that our best hospitals train new doctors and nurses.

('The Importance of Teaching: The Schools White Paper', DfE, 2010, p. 3)

Teach First and its teachers are perceived and presented as enlightened, progressive and modern policy examples, as *beacons* of conduct and possibility (*lines of visibility*). On the one hand, the policy articulates a more or less implicit critique of the 'traditional teacher' ('Teach First's reach will be extended so that young children get *better quality early education and the early years profession gets the respect it deserves* ') and traditional forms of educational governance (consider the five 'challenge areas' or problematizations at Challenge 2012). On the other hand, it embodies the modernist notion of policy as perfection and policy as progress. Ball (2010a, p. 7) notes: 'Policy is an enlightenment concept, it is about progress, it is about moving from the inadequacies of the present to some future state of perfection where everything works well and works as it should'.

Teach First presents itself and is popularly received, then, as a moral and vital movement of and for educational and social reform: it is an instance of policy as perfection which, importantly, is oriented to the present and the future, and embraces the transformational force of civil society. This liberal-humanist and constructivist

³⁸https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/175433/first_report_of_the_review_of_teachers_standards.pdf

³⁹<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1512041/Teach-First-is-a-brilliant-idea-absolutely-everyone-wins.html>

discourse of reform is often spoken through Teach First publications and the Teach First website:

Our vision is not the 'Teach First vision'. It is the vision of many individuals and organisations who are working tirelessly to improve the lives of young people. Ultimately it is a vision for the country, not just this charity.

(Bret Wigdortz, Challenge 2012 Conference Brochure)

Our mission is to end inequality in education by building a community of exceptional leaders who create change within classrooms, schools and across society.

(<http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about>)

We support brilliant people to teach and lead in schools ... and partner with those who share our vision. Our mission to end educational inequality drives everything we do – it's an ambitious goal and we know we cannot achieve it alone. So we work in partnership with schools, charities, businesses and individuals who want to ensure that every young person can succeed in life. We nurture and champion innovative approaches to education, initiate conversations and influence decision makers to bring about change.

(<http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/what-we-do>)

This whole language of construction and 'improvement' is accompanied by an observable process and practice of 'statecraft' and social and anthropological engineering (see below and later chapters). This is to say that Teach First is a *generative instrument* – an *active and advanced technology* – in the construction of a new kind of education state and, with that, a new kind of teacher and policy subject. As we have seen, this burgeoning new education state, already subjected to the logics of the competitive market, is now increasingly colonised by private and third sector organisations, which bring their own values and logics of practice into the governmental terrain. In particular, these are the values and logics, and the techniques, of business and the private sector (i.e. efficiency, productivity, enterprise, profit/returns, competition, measurability, marketing/marketability). Indeed, these languages, logics and techniques 'provide both the necessary distance between political authorities and organizational life, and the translatability to establish an alliance between national economic health, increased organizational effectiveness and progressive and humanistic values' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 50).

As is evident in the extracts above, this ‘participation’ is rhetorically deployed and legitimated through the language of *partnership* (‘we work in partnership’). This perhaps softens the terms of engagement on what are in fact dual processes of endogenous and (direct and indirect) exogenous privatisation, and big ‘N’ and small ‘n’ neo-liberalism, which are flowing through and being generated by the Teach First programme. Ball (2012, p. 98) argues: ‘Partnerships open up various kinds of flows between the sectors, flows of people, information, ideas, of language, methods, values and culture’. They blur the boundaries between public and private, charity and profit, education and the economy, and we will see some of these different ‘flows’ below when I analyse the LDP.

For now I want to underline the fact that Teach First is an artefact and an instrument of neo-liberal constructivism, or of neo-liberalisation (Castree, 2006; Peck, 2010). This is to say that Teach First actively engages, both discursively and substantively, in the transformation of policy and society in harmony with the logics of enterprise. It is a ‘technology of the social’, as Lazzarato (2009, p. 112) puts it, one of a multitude of ‘procedures and mechanisms that [aims to] constitute the social’ (relations, dispositions, subjectivities, practices, culture, etc.) in particular ways, and, in this instance, as the competitive economic form. Teach First inserts, embeds and joins up an arsenal of vital, interrelated and complementary technologies of government – the market, leadership/managerialism and performance – and I explore below how these technologies are manifest in the operating practices and *modus-operandi* of the organisation and the LDP. Before doing this, however, I want to say a little more about ‘roll-out’ neo-liberalism.

Roll-out neo-liberalism

In previous chapters I have noted Peck and Tickell’s (2002) three-stage typology of neo-liberal historical unfolding. I have touched upon the initial ‘proto’ stage of theoretical mobilisation, and also the aggressive ‘roll-back’ phase of public sector critique and welfare reform. The third phase, *roll-out neo-liberalism*,⁴⁰ refers to an active process of ‘state-craft’. It is implicated in the ‘governance turn’ and processes

⁴⁰ It is important to note that these are not ‘ruptural’ shifts, and often ‘roll-back’ and ‘roll-out’ practices articulate together. An example is how Teach First involves a critique of the ‘traditional’ teacher and the way the public sector operates, i.e. ‘roll-back’ neo-liberalism.

of economisation, and new forms of governmentality. As Peck and Tickell (2002, p. 384, emphasis in original) describe, it is

an emergent phase of active state-building and regulatory reform ... In the course of this shift, the agenda has gradually moved from one preoccupied with the active *destruction and discreditation* of Keynesian-welfarist and social-collectivist institutions (broadly defined) to one focussed on the purposeful *construction and consolidation* of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory restructuring.

Interestingly, however, this phase is not so much about the triumph of the market over the state. On the contrary, 'roll-out' reforms have been accompanied by and enacted through positive state interventions into society, in some instances as a direct response to social and economic problems associated with earlier 'roll-back' reforms. For example, the 'third way' politics of the Blair and Clinton administrations involved broadly social democratic forms of welfare policy and intervention, alongside the deployment of more authoritarian and disciplinary interventions into 'problematic' sections of the population. In this latter sense, 'roll-out' neo-liberalism, as Peck and Tickell qualify (*ibid*, p. 389),

is increasingly associated with the political foregrounding of new modes of 'social' and penal policymaking, concerned specifically with the aggressive reregulation, disciplining, and containment of those marginalized or dispossessed by the neo-liberalization of the 1980s.

In some ways, this is the state 'reasserting' itself when and where the deleterious effects of the market and the deregulation of the economy have presented themselves as a problem. Disciplinary and welfarist practices have been deployed in these spaces: New Labour's *Sure Start* and *Building Schools for the Future* programmes are examples of the latter, and the Coalition's *workfare* and *Family Intervention* programmes of the former. It is important, however, not to underplay the market and the associated hypocrisies in all of this. Indeed, 'roll-out' neo-liberalism is also characterised by a kind of 'double-think' whereby the competitive market form is re-mobilised, re-legitimated and re-animated as a model of government for tackling social problems, some of which are the product of the market – its whims, inequities and catastrophes. This is the hypocrisy of neo-liberalism, and the contradictions inscribed in its 'roll-out' practices (see below).

Teach First is a good example. It is a neo-liberal institutional form – an *enterprise* – contracted to provide state services. In some ways, it is a targeted *remedial device*, a social enterprise solution to social problems, and has retained political and financial support in a protracted period of ‘austerity’ where other, potentially more democratic, programmes have been decommissioned – the *Sure Start* programme, for instance. Whilst Teach First is itself subject to the ‘technocratic’ processes and demands of economic management, it is also a component of the ‘institutional “hardware” of neo-liberalized social intervention’ (Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 389). Teach First forms a small but still significant part in

a deeply interventionist agenda ... around ‘social’ issues like crime, immigration, policing, welfare reform, urban order and surveillance, and community regeneration. In these latter spheres, in particular, new technologies of government are being designed and rolled out, new discourses of ‘reform’ are being constructed (often around new policy objectives like ‘welfare dependency’), new institutions and modes of delivery are being fashioned, and new social subjectivities are being fostered.

(Peck and Tickell, 2002, p. 389)

I come back to this in Part 3, where I investigate the *Teach First problem-space of government*.

Before moving on, I want to emphasise that Teach First illustrates something of the contradictions of neo-liberal policy, but also the capacity of neo-liberalism to survive and re-animate itself. To do this, I refer to an account given by an interviewee, a participant deployed in one of the new regional advances:

And so it was the first time that Teach First had been in [this region]. So we were the only cohort and so that was quite nice in a way because they made a fuss about it, because they were like “you’re the first [...] thing [in this region].” We had Brett come up and say “we’re so pleased to be in [this region], there’s so much need here”. And then I was in a school ... which isn’t your usual inner-city school, in an ex-mining community. It was a really really socially deprived area, I think something like 137 out of 160, or something ridiculously bad; it was like in the bottom 20 of the UK ... And a lot of the kids had foetal alcohol syndrome ... and it means that it’s just a really kind of low attention rate ... and there’s a huge problem with heroin in [the town].

The school was located in what had been a formerly thriving industrial town which had paid a heavy price, both economically and socially, for the ‘roll-back’ reforms of

the Thatcher period. Studies into formerly industrial communities (see, for example, Humphrey, 1993; Sissons, 2009) have noted how aggressive neo-liberal policies (privatisations, deregulation, deindustrialisation, denationalisation), coupled with the inadequacies of outsourced 'regeneration' projects, led to serious social problems linked to high unemployment and alienation from the labour market. The participant above described their experience at the school as 'immensely challenging', and eventually was placed in another school, due to a mix of professional and personal reasons. Teach First apparently no longer works with the school. If this is true, then hypocrisy would appear to have reached new heights, not least if it is 'the state' that filled the void.

This example gives us a sense of the contradictions of neo-liberalism. It does this because whilst Teach First is hailed and mobilised as a solution to social problems, the experiences and accounts of the participants, as we will see further evidence of, and in different ways, in the next chapter, often convey the present dangers and historical failures of neo-liberalism, how neo-liberal relations can be problematic and harmful, rendering individuals and whole communities, and even Teach First participants, isolated, vulnerable and, in some cases, worthless; although as I come back to in the next chapter, neo-liberalism is also premised upon instituting these kinds of conditions and affects. At the same time, Teach First also illustrates what Peck and Tickell (2002, p. 392) refer to as the adaptability of neo-liberalism, its 'ongoing dynamic of discursive adjustment, policy learning, and institutional reflexivity'. As I develop below and in later chapters, Teach First is a neo-liberal solution (the market, enterprise) to a neo-liberalized fabrication of disadvantage (inequality as the product and problem of the individual and the community). It is about actively 'making people up' (Hacking, 1986) as responsible and entrepreneurial human kinds, and is an instance of the new institutional cartography of the (education) state. In the words of Peck and Tickell (2002, p. 390), perhaps Teach First 'represents *both* the frailty of the neo-liberal project *and* its deepening'.

Transactions and technologies

In this section, I explore how Teach First plugs into, is subject to, and works to consolidate/install within the education state a *moral and vital arsenal* of neo-liberal technologies of government: the market, managerialism/leadership, and

performativity. These ‘mechanisms of change’ (Ball, 2010a) are interrelated and complement one another. Together, they enact dual processes of big ‘N’ and small ‘n’ neo-liberalism, that is, they facilitate the governing of conduct at its most intimate (small ‘n’), but also, as Jessop (2002, p. 240) formulates it in his notion of *metagovernance*, ‘in its broadest sense’. As I look at in the next chapter, these technologies are complemented by and embedded within a range of other *affective* and *aesthetic* technologies of government, which in part serve to establish the ontological and existential conditions for affective forms of governmentality.

Jessop (2002) notes that *metagovernance* is enacted through three interrelated modes and processes: metaorganisation, metaexchange, and metaheterarchy. Very briefly, *metaorganisation* refers to new forms of institutional practice and culture, the ‘enterprising up’ of the public sector being a good example. *Metaexchange* involves the reflexive design and redesign of markets, and includes the currencies or bases of exchange which enable coordination and transactions within and between markets. *Metaheterarchy* concerns the ways in which political authority is being unfolded onto new interdependent actors within civil society under performance contract, and is characterised by new state modalities, such as performance monitoring and competitive tendering. From a governmentality perspective, these modes equate to the ‘government of government’, or ‘reflexive government’ (Dean, 2007), which I have discussed previously. In other words, they refer to the governing of existing governmental mechanisms. According to Ball (2012, p. 18, citing Spring, 2008), ‘These modes, working together, produce the general and generic technologies and techniques of the neo-liberal state, [which in turn] constitute the specific operating principles of contemporary global education policy, what Spring calls “global uniformity”’. Moreover, as Ball (2012, p. 36) adds:

Through its metagovernance, and the deployment of the technologies of performance, leadership and the market, the state acts as a ‘commodifying agent’, both rendering education into a commodity and into contractable forms, thereby ‘recalibrating institutions’ to make them homological with the firm and creating the necessary economic and extra-economic conditions within the public sector within which business can operate.

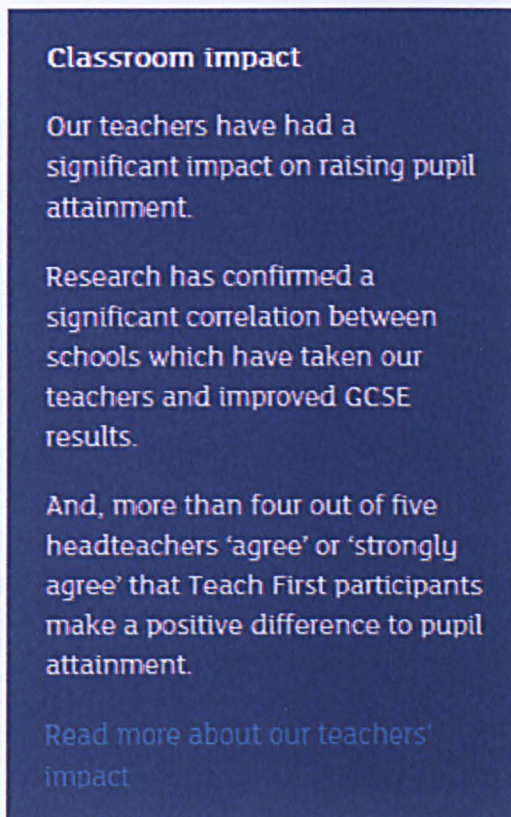
Strategy

We can observe these modes and technologies, in different ways, in the Teach First LDP. Firstly, however, I want to explore quite broadly how they inform the Teach First strategy and *raison d'être*. In some ways, one can conceptualise this strategy as the state.

We exist to close the gap between the achievement of young people from poor backgrounds and those from wealthier homes.

(<http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about/our-strategy>)

Teach First's *strategy* ('our strategy') is to 'close the gap' in attainment between the wealthy and the poor. Indeed, we are told that this is the reason for the organisations 'existence'. This immediately conveys the *raison d'être* of the organisation, and indicates the *currency of practice and exchange* in which it trades (*metaorganisation* and *metaexchange*). Consider Figure 5.1 below:

A dark blue rectangular box containing white text. The text is organized into four distinct sections. The first section is a bold heading. The second and third sections are paragraphs of text. The fourth section is a line of text with a trailing ellipsis.

Classroom impact

Our teachers have had a significant impact on raising pupil attainment.

Research has confirmed a significant correlation between schools which have taken our teachers and improved GCSE results.

And, more than four out of five headteachers 'agree' or 'strongly agree' that Teach First participants make a positive difference to pupil attainment.

Read more about our teachers' impact...

Figure 5.1. Teach First Classroom and Performative Impact

Teach First 'trades' in the currency of 'governing knowledge', or comparative performance data. Performance is the currency of the education (social) market (i.e. 'improved GCSE results'; 'positive difference to pupil attainment'). It is by 'trading' in this currency that Teach First can (and must) demonstrate 'impact' or 'value' and, therefore, effective government ('our teachers have had a significant impact on raising pupil attainment').⁴¹ Ball (2012, p. 32) notes:

The rendition of teaching and learning into calculabilities generates market information for choosers, enables the state to 'pick off' poor performers, and makes it possible to translate educational work, of all kinds, into contracts articulated as performance delivery, which can then be opened to 'tender' and thus to competition from private providers by means of contracting out – a move to metaheterarchy.

This logic of practice again manifests the *enterprise form*: 'improving' the educational *performance* (in terms of standardised measures) of 'underperforming' students in order that they may invest their (newfound) stock in the (education/job) market and have a chance of living and harvesting the fruits of the 'good life' (see Part 3). As Lingard (2013, p. 2) points out: 'Human capital production has become a more explicit and expressed purpose of schooling, even primary schooling, with economists and other non-educators framing meta-policy in education'.

The focus on 'closing (performance) gaps' reveals something of the 'metaorganisational' form of Teach First. This is to say that the institutional 'ecology' and culture of the institution is not simply entrepreneurial, but *performative* (although the two are linked). Of course, we need to bear in mind that this logic and institutional form is not unique to Teach First; as I have argued, performativity and the *enterprise form* are manifest at and between the global and molecular scales of policy. It is, however, this explicit and dedicated programmatic remit that renders Teach First useful for political authorities in securing the (performative, economic and steering) objectives of the state. But it also subjects the institution and the participants to the arts and crafts of neo-liberal government and economic management. Rather than being 'reformed' and transmogrified into the competitive economic form, however, Teach First is *folded into* policy as a superintendent of the liberal police. It is,

⁴¹ There is ongoing debate about the 'impact' of Teach First (and, more broadly, Teach For All) teachers on student and school performance. For a positive example, see Allen and Allnutt (2013); for a more critical perspective, see Heilig and Jez (2010).

moreover, an instance of *entreprenopticism*, or the disciplining of the (education) state by the market.

The programmatic emphasis on ‘closing gaps’ transacts the *hyper-performative policy regime*. As Martino and Rezai-Rashti (2013, p. 589) argue, ‘This ‘gap talk’’ – a globally pervasive *achievement gap discourse* – ‘is inextricably tied to a neo-liberal system of accountability, marketization, comparative performance measures and competition within the context of a globalized education policy field’. As I develop in **Part 3**, this takes the shape of a *vital-performative achievement gap discourse*, which trades on the cultural (qualitative) and ‘economic’ (quantitative) deficiency of the Teach First school and the disadvantaged (from a poorer *background*) child. For now, consider the Teach First 2022 *Impact Goals* (launched at *Challenge 2012*), which outline the objectives of the enterprise and its partners over a ten year period:

- Narrow the gap in literacy and numeracy at primary school.
- Narrow the gap in GCSE attainment at secondary school.
- Ensure pupils develop key strengths, including resilience and wellbeing, to support high aspirations.
- Narrow the gap in the proportion of pupils in education, employment or training one year after compulsory education.
- Narrow the gap in university graduation, including from the 25 per cent most selective universities.

Figure 5.2. The Teach First 2022 Impact Goals⁴²

This ‘impact agenda’ is *economic* and *performative* (closing performance gaps, increasing opportunities for human capital enhancement) and *vital* (developing resilience and wellbeing to support high aspirations; demonstrable competency as a vital capital for individual ‘survival’). It is an instance of what Brooks et al (2009) call a ‘silver bullet’ policy solution, to a ‘grand-challenge’. That is, it is a goal-driven and generic technical solution to a social problem based upon the principles of scalability, measurability and performance (the *Teach For All* network is a global iteration of the ‘grand challenge’). This is an example, moreover, of *new philanthropy* or *philanthrocapitalism*, that is, the deployment of business methods for solving social

⁴² <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/why-we-exist/what-were-calling>

problems in which benefactors seek a 'return' on their investments in terms of measurable performance outcomes, or 'social impact'. This is not simply about palliative giving: new philanthropy involves the generalisation of the enterprise form to charitable giving and, as such, informs a new, financialised form of social welfare. 'Philanthrocapitalism' is hence

the idea that charity needs to start to resemble a capitalist economy in which benefactors become consumers of social investment. 'This is an integrating business approach to spurt an entrepreneurial spirit for the welfare of humankind'.

(Ball, 2012, p. 69, citing <http://observer.bard.edu/articles/opinions/216>)

'Magic bullet' solutions such as these illustrate what Shamir (2008a, p. 1) calls the 'moralization of the economic action'. This refers to the ways in which moral issues, such as *educational disadvantage*, are framed through the lens and logic of the market. This entails and is characterised by the philanthropic and governmental shift from 'correcting for' to 'connecting to' the market (Brooks *et al.*, 2009), a process which, according to Shamir (2008a), 'dissolves the distinction between economy and society' (p. 3) and, 'furthermore, encodes the "social" as a specific instance of the "economy"' (p. 14).

Consider the *The goals in action* below (Figure 5.3.). A moral problem is identified by a Teach First participant ('he discovered' a lack of representation in selective education), who in doing so also demonstrates the virtues and possibilities of enterprise (lines of visibility; the gaze of the *entreprenopticon*). Morality in this instance is subsumed within the economics of educational performance and the (bio-political) metrics of student worth (preparing for the entrance exam, accessing 'opportunities they deserve'). This is not about questioning or alleviating the effects of the market, or, in this particular instance, the divisive effects of selective education and educational *advantage*. On the contrary, disadvantage is addressed by connecting the disadvantaged child to the meritocracies of selective education. The emphasis on 'scaling up' the innovation ('we are now working with the participant to see how we can share his work across more schools') is also a local and mundane instance of neo-liberalisation.

The goals in action

One of our participants teaches at Wilbury Primary School in Enfield, which is next door to a selective grammar school.

When he arrived there, he discovered that no pupil from Wilbury has ever passed the entrance exam for the grammar school and wanted to change this. He has therefore, in partnership with his school and Teach First Leadership Development Officer, put a plan in place to help pupils prepare for the exam and help ensure they have access to the opportunities they deserve.

This work will help us achieve Impact Goals 2, 3, 4 and 5, and we are now working with the participant to see how we can share his work across more Enfield schools.

Figure 5.3. *The Teach First Goals in Action*

With these examples – the overarching performative strategy and *raison d'être*, and even the school-level and scalable practices of one of the participants – I have tried to give an indication of how Teach First transacts and is subject to the *hyper-performative policy regime*. Teach First and its teachers serve and are subservient to the technology of performance; they are subject to, and subjects of, the legibilities and calculations of ‘governing knowledge’, and hence the neo-liberal governing of and by the state. Indeed, this is the paradox of small ‘n’ neo-liberalism: the production of

willing and enterprising human kinds, whose freedom to govern themselves is consumed by the performative rhythms and requirements of the state.

In the next section I want to build on this by demonstrating how Teach First consolidates/installs within the education state not only the technology of performance, but also the moral and vital technologies of the market and management/leadership. In doing this, I will again be able to say a little more about processes of big 'N' and small 'n' neo-liberalism as they are being generated within and flowing through the practices and spaces of the Teach First LDP. In what follows below, I draw upon some work previously published with colleagues (Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013).

The Leadership Development Programme

Follow the leader: shaping the effective neo-liberal teacher

Teach First is all about becoming a leader and achieving success – both for yourself and others.

Top recruiters look for leaders – people who have a track record of making things happen and a major feature of Teach First's Leadership Development Programme is its focus on developing your leadership potential – it's all in the name! It is through leadership that you will be able to profoundly affect the achievement of all your pupils, and your leadership abilities will make you stand out in your future career.⁴³

The LDP is not simply about training teachers as public professionals. Divided into three strands – *Leading Learning*, *Leading People*, and *Leading Self* – it is both much less and much more than a 'traditional' teacher training course. It is *much less* in that there is a narrow managerial focus on 'what works' over and against educational philosophy and theory, and *much more* in the sense that it involves other kinds of training and participation.

I don't remember learning anything specifically about how to teach or the pedagogy. I just remember that kind of being almost there already, do you know what I mean? It was very practical, lots of practising, lots of discussion.

⁴³ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/leadership-development-programme/training/leadership-development>

It wasn't theory based, we didn't look at philosophers or educators very much and I don't feel as if I have missed it really.

(Teach First participant, interview)

The main strand (*Leading Learning*) is more conventional in the sense that it involves attending subject knowledge days at partner universities and being assigned a professional tutor. However, this strand is complemented by business and entrepreneurial training and coaching (*Leading People, Leading Self*). The participants are also assigned a Teach First *Leadership Development Officer* (LDO) who is in most instances an alumnus of the programme. The LDO provides emotional support to the participant as someone who may have completed the programme, and who understands the *ethos* of the organisation (all Teach First employees are contractually obliged to uphold and promote the values of the organisation, a point I return to in the next chapter). The LDO also provides practical support by helping the participant monitor to achieve 'the ambitious visions and goals [they] set for [their] pupils'.

Leading People

Leading people focuses on developing participants' abilities to lead people. This is a supporting strand of the programme, because the skills participants develop apply both to the school context and to any other organisation. Components of this strand include workshops on managing yourself, managing teams and managing stakeholders as well as the opportunity to have a professional coach who works with participants to help them learn from and overcome their leadership challenges.

Leading Self

Leading Self provides participants with the opportunity to develop a good understanding of themselves, their strengths and areas for development to help them become effective teachers. This involves attending facilitated sessions to help them understand their emotions, strengths, motives and values and how these influence the choices they make. These opportunities will involve exploring how participants can 'lead themselves' throughout the programme and beyond using concepts such as: resilience, self-awareness, and knowing when to seek support.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/OurWork/Programme.aspx>

This managerial and business training is hosted and provided by a variety of organisations, businesses and institutions, including, for example, the *Imperial College Business School* and *Beyond Now*. *Beyond Now* provides private consultancy services and coaching for ‘business leaders, people who run change programmes and those who have people and organisational development responsibility’.⁴⁵ Other events (see below), training and mentoring are provided, facilitated and hosted by partner Teach First organisations, such as *Accenture*, *Goldman Sachs* and *Credit Suisse*. Participants are also presented with ‘a range of networking and internship opportunities’.⁴⁶ For example, the participants attend various *cluster engagement events*, such as recruitment fairs and ‘Leadership Panels’. The latter are events where senior public, private and voluntary sector ‘leaders’ discuss and answer questions about their leadership challenges. As we will see later, these are also spaces where the participants can rub shoulders with potential employers.

A strong ‘new managerialist’ discourse is articulated through the training, which draws on the expertise of business and Human Resource Management (HRM). The LDP is colonised by what Thrift (2005, p. 34) calls the ‘powerful cultural circuit of capital’:

The circuit, which is now self-organizing, is responsible for the production and distribution of managerial knowledge to managers [in this case teachers] ... As it has grown, so have its appetites. It now has a constant and voracious need for new knowledge. Chief amongst the producers of the managerial discourse are three institutions: business schools, management consultants and management gurus.

Indeed, the form and organisation of the LDP substantiates the idea of what MacKenzie and Lucio (2005) call a shift in the ‘territory of influence’ of educational governance. This is characterised by a prising open of ‘new sites of influence, decision making and policy action’ (Ball, 2008b, p. 761), and in this instance around the provision of teacher training and the tackling of ‘educational disadvantage’. This leveraging of private sector (including commercial) involvement in education service provision is epistemological and cultural, enabling the ideas, techniques and logics, the discourses and the vernacular of business and the private sector to be channelled

⁴⁵ <http://www.beyondnow.co.uk/>

⁴⁶ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/our-programme/>

into the education state – those flows that I discussed earlier. At the same time, contracts are there to be won, and money to be made (Big ‘N’ neo-liberalism). Teach First’s partnership with *Beyond Now* is just one example; however securing a Teach First ITT⁴⁷ contract also constitutes lucrative business for a university.

With components on *managing teams*, *managing stakeholders* and *managing yourself*, the LDP both imagines and constitutes the participant as a new kind of professional, one that is change-oriented, entrepreneurial, and business-minded. The *Leading Self* and *Leading People* strands are about learning how to identify personal and collegial strengths and weaknesses, and about improving, managing and presenting yourself appropriately (small ‘n’). They also articulate the individual and organisational value of being flexible and agile, and encourage the participants to be calculative and enterprising (‘leading themselves throughout the programme and beyond’), and ‘resilient’, in order that they may make the most of the opportunities, and negotiate the challenges, that might come their way. These ‘techniques of the self’ relate, again, to a managerial discourse which, as Thrift (2005, p. 34) puts it, is setting ‘new definitions of what it is to be a person’. They are brought to bear on what Foucault (1985, p. 6) calls ‘games of truth in the relationship of self with self’, and inform ‘the forming of oneself as a subject....’. I revisit these and other management techniques in more detail in the next chapter and in **Part 3**, but for now we can say that the LDP is a pedagogical technology of the self, but also of institutional reform:

So you have to go to a leadership panel, leading learning group, and you have to go to the leading organisation days in your second year, which is very much tied in to what the Masters does, like talking about different models of leadership and, you know, what you can do if you want to become more of a leader in your school, things like that ... Or there’s, like, this year there were workshops to do with managing teams or managing stakeholders, and I went to the managing teams one and it was quite useful. It told us all about the different types of team members, things like knowing the different skills they might have.

(Richard, Teach First participant, interview)

But then in terms of the actual Leadership Development Programme, as part of the two year programme ... I had a coach or whatever, and that has been great I think for my own progress. I think that I have really benefited from that, which is part of ... I think it was the Leading People strand, and actually some

⁴⁷ Initial Teacher Training.

of the workshops are really interesting when you do go away. Again they sort of encourage you to think about how your organisation is structured or whatever, and how leadership is distributed or not distributed within your organisation and actually in the wider picture, in terms of businesses and so on as well. It's not purely school focussed, it's sort of organisation focussed.

(Rachel, Teach First participant, interview)

I don't know when I started to consciously think about my professional identity, but because you are part of this bubble and you get so much investment, when you are amongst other professionals or trainee teachers you realise actually we're NQTs as well. But an NQT who's done a PGCE, this will be there first year at work and so I tend to only realise how confident I am as a result of this training when I'm out of the Teach First bubble and I'm with my headteachers and stuff, just because the language and the investment that comes from all the training. You're kind of a bit more savvy and a bit more confident.

(Laura, Teach First participant, interview)

The participants are to be what May (1994, p. 619) calls 'technicians of transformation', which implies processes of both 'deprofessionalisation' and 'reprofessionalisation' (Seddon, 1997). The commitments and functions of the teacher are increasingly narrowed to include only those deemed necessary for enhancing individual and institutional, educational and economic productivity and performance (i.e. 'what works'). This is the fabrication of the 'effective teacher'. Popkewitz (2013, pp. 443-444) argues:

The 'effective teacher' is made possible, for example, through the intersection of the new public management about setting goals/expectations about performance (benchmarks, good practices) and econometrics among others ... The 'value added' is directed to cultural and social practices described, for example, as student motivation, school culture and leadership, and the biography and career of the teacher. The combination of these characteristics of people and schooling are viewed as enabling student attainment and achievement.

As I have noted, *deprofessionalisation* is also a form of *reprofessionalisation*. This comprises a new kind of teacher and a new kind of professionalism. What I mean is that the LDP aims to actively shape a new kind of professional and teaching subject, one that has the requisite 'competences' and 'qualities', but also the (managerial/entrepreneurial/moral) dispositions and commitments suitable for an educational culture and working environment of 'competitive performativity' (Ball,

2003, p. 219). We can get a sense of this kind of responsibility to perform in the following interview extract with a participant:

A teacher [who's] part of our department, [they] have been teaching for 30 years or something like that at our school: [they've] never left our school ... [They] didn't realise that if a kid comes in from primary school having a level 4, they need to leave on a level 6 in year nine ... go up to a GCSE on a level 6 in year 9 to show that we've made them an average progress that's expected of kids. And if we don't meet that, our school is deemed as failing because of our value added. [This teacher] didn't know that, [they] didn't know where targets came from. So this teacher – whose been teaching for 30 years – although levels might be a relatively recent thing for [them], no one's ever explained that to [them] and they've just assumed that [they've] got that knowledge ... I'm glad that I'm in a [leadership] position now where I can build that kind of CPD into our meetings to tackle that kind of thing.

The Teach First teacher, programmatically at least, is forged in the image of performativity. They are, as Foucault (1977, p. 294) might put it, the new 'technicians of behaviour' for a post-welfare education state, and that is to say, they are *hyper-performative* teaching subjects.

Whilst the participants are to be *entrepreneurs, innovators* and *leaders* of school practice and culture, a great deal of their sense of agency, worth and obligation, even their sense of professionalism, is tied to the dictates of performance. Ball (2012, p. 34) argues:

Performativity and governing by numbers are furthermore organised and facilitated by other techniques of organisational redesign. Leadership and distributed leadership in particular is a means of focusing individuals on goals and practices oriented towards organisation 'improvement' or productivity (or income generation) and the raising of system standards ... That is, leadership is a means of reworking and narrowing the responsibilities of the practitioner by excluding 'extraneous' issues that are not directly connected to performance outcomes.

As mentioned previously, one of the central features of neo-liberal educational reforms in the 1980s was the insertion and embedding of management, and to be more precise, New Public Management (NPM) techniques in the governing of the public sector. This involved an epistemological, technical and anthropological re-engineering and reculturing of the school and its governance, overseen by the rise of the 'manager'. NPM is an amalgamation of a number of neo-liberal theories, including Human Capital Theory (HCT), Transaction Cost Economics (TCE), Agency-Theory

(AT) and Public Choice Theory (PCT). It presupposes, and legislates its practices upon, the self-interested individual of classical economics (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, p. 163) and reshapes organisational and field variables in anticipation of the *new homo æconomicus* (small 'n' neo-liberalism). Fitzsimons (1999, p. 1) notes:

Under NPM, there is an elaboration of explicit standards and measures of performance in quantitative terms that set specific targets for personnel, an emphasis on economic rewards and sanctions, and a reconstruction of accountability relationships ... There has been a decentralization of management control towards what is often referred to as the doctrine of self-management.

In some ways, however, there has been a shift from management to *leadership*. Indeed, the *leader* has now emerged as the lynchpin and 'cultural hero' (Ball, 2010a, p. 47) of a new configuration of power – what two of the key proponents of this approach, Osborne and Gaebler (1992), call 'entrepreneurial governance', which is again an instance of *entrepreneurism*.

Whilst managers manage others, leadership to some extent renders NPM redundant by making us leaders of ourselves. In education, this has been about *responsibilising* teachers; a rendition of the teacher into a self-governing and self-maximizing unit, who trades, and is ultimately judged, as we have seen, upon the legibilities and dictates of performance. The teacher (and school) is made accountable for student failure, and even the (national and global) competitiveness of the system. A former participant and now LDO at Teach First explains on the website:

I went to an under-performing school which failed most of my friends and family. Applying to Teach First was my way of giving something back.⁴⁸

Of course, in 'distributing' leadership to teachers, we must also bear in mind that what the teacher is responsible for is determined *for* them and determining *of* them, subjecting their work and sense of worth to the rhythms and requirements of 'governing knowledge', and individual, institutional and national productivity and efficiency. The contextual factors of the school and local community – histories of inequality and the divisive effects of social advantage – are no excuse for failure.

⁴⁸ <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/>

Teach First markets itself on the notion of the transformational capacities of its teachers as leaders, a form of *depoliticisation* (see next chapter). Yet this version of reform is perhaps not as innovative and novel (or successful) as we are led to believe. Indeed, it is for this reason that Teach First is a good example of Foucault's 'superficial' transformation, remaining broadly within the same mode of thought which has underpinned many of the policy reforms of the last thirty or so years, and despite embodying the partial shift from management to leadership in educational governance.

Investing in the self: the game of human capital

Some Teach First participants have a firm plan for their long-term careers when they begin the programme, others are less certain. All of them find the experience of Teach First to be powerful, rewarding and enlightening, and all are changed by it. For some it confirms their ambitions and adds to their skills, while for others it opens up new possibilities.

(Teach First - graduate recruitment brochure)⁴⁹

The LDP is a game of human capital. In the words of Gary E Becker, the influential Chicago School economist, it is framed and organised as a programme of 'activities that influence real income through the imbedding of resources in people' (1962, p. 9). The training, as noted, is in part about investing in the self, but this is not simply about forming an 'effective teacher': it is also about acquiring 'skills' and experiences which have value for, and can be transferred over, to other settings, careers and fields.

Teach First will draw out your leadership abilities as a communicator and an influencer in a way that no other graduate programme can. We will enable you to develop the knowledge, understanding, personal skills and strategies to unite and focus groups of individuals on subjects and tasks. You will learn to praise, guide, lead with authority, gain and maintain respect, and harness the abilities of disparate individuals to reach a common goal and achieve results – whether that's in a classroom setting with students or in an office with colleagues.⁵⁰

I noted in the opening chapter how the market plugs directly into the Teach First movement for social and educational reform – a 'moral economy of hope' (Rose,

⁴⁹ Available at: <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/downloads/teachfirstgradbrochure13.pdf>

⁵⁰ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/our-programme/leadership-development.html>

2007) in which the moral and pragmatic politics of educational reform, in part, 'become foci for marketing and advertising campaigns' and through which '[c]ompanies [can] promote their corporate image' (Rikowski, 2002, p. 10). The market installed at the heart of *Challenge 2012*, for example, exposed the delegates to the recruitment drives of various public, private and voluntary organisations. Other 'cluster engagement events' like the 'leadership panels' also constitute, as I have suggested, sites of 'meetingness' (Urry, 2003). This works in both directions, however. On the one hand, the participant can sound out potential employers, and on the other, employers can 'tap in' to the 'top talent' on display in a bid to secure the human resources which will add to their stockpile of organisational capital. From the perspective of the recruiters, this is about maintaining a competitive edge in the market. Frank Appel, CEO of German Post DHL, a partner organisation of *Teach First Deutsch* and *Teach For All*, puts this in stark terms:

The fellows benefit [from the LDP and teaching] because they learn what is more important for their career than an MBA degree – how to deal with people.⁵¹

Education is the most valuable resource we have in Germany. For this reason, it is critically important for all children and young people to ... receive the support they need to develop their talents. At the same time, we as the world's leading provider of logistics services and one of Germany's largest employers need well-educated, dedicated employees who have earned all types of diplomas and possess strong interpersonal skills. The company that has the better employees is the one that wins the competition.⁵²

Consider the following interview exchange with a group of participants,⁵³ who describe their 'exposure' to potential employers at the *cluster engagement* events:⁵⁴

- Maria: And then it's...it's up to you, you know. If you have that conversation with someone afterwards, if you pick up a business card afterwards that's up to you to do but there is like an exposure...
- Rebecca: Yeah.
- Maria: ...to...you know, you're in the building of the places potentially where you want to work. You're meeting people,

⁵¹ <http://www.teachfirst.de/absolventen/unterstuetzer>

⁵² http://www.dp-dhl.com/en/media_relations/press_releases/2009/teach_first_deutschland_improves_education.html

⁵³ All names assigned pseudonyms.

⁵⁴ Hutchings *et al.* (2006) discuss this point in their evaluative case-study of Teach First.

which you...you wouldn't necessarily be able to pull out that meeting time and just send an email and say "oh I'd like to talk to you about...", so it does create...

Monica: Yeah.

Interviewer: So you get access to speak to the right people?

Laura: Yeah.

Monica: Definitely.

Rebecca: And they're open to talking to you because they think "oh you're in Teach First"...

Maria: Yeah...

Rebecca: ...it has a certain amount of prestige.

Maria: ...brand.

Interviewer: Why do you think that works then?

Laura: Because they know the training that we've had I think...

Monica: Yeah.

Interviewer: So do you think that appeals to them?

Laura: ...The businesses would have probably invested in our training financially and if it's someone from education, they respect the training programme we're on and therefore they want that kind of staff. I think it's a mind-set that they appreciate...

Importantly, then, the LDP is a means and space for investing in and employing human capital. It is about making *personal* economic investments and returns, which can, in turn, be sourced and secured by potential employers for their organisational and strategic vitality (including securing their present and future profits). In this way, Teach First can be thought about as a composite form of (social, cultural, symbolic and human) capital (see Olmedo, Bailey and Ball, 2013 for a more detailed discussion) which can be invested in, traded and exchanged, and exploited, for returns in the economic field.

I don't see myself moving out of the teaching profession anytime soon. However, having said that, there is a little side of me who is quite intrigued about what else is out there and maybe what else I could do with this Teach First name on my back. And with the experience I have gained I don't really want to just limit myself to teaching and that's all I've done ... I think it's just because the opportunity's there and it's a natural move for some people and

that natural move or that move is possible. Whereas if I did a PGCE or something and then went into teaching, it wouldn't be a natural move to suddenly say: "I'm going to go to London and then work for the DFES" or something. Whereas with Teach First the options are there and it could be a natural move if you wanted it to be.

(Participant, interview)

The above extract is particularly interesting as the participant claimed that they had always wanted to be a teacher. But through their experience of the programme, as we can see, other possibilities now seem reasonable and possible. Having the 'Teach First name on your back' (being associated with the Teach First brand) is here perceived as a useful capital for future transactions in the market. Agility and opportunity seeking, moreover, become 'natural' dispositions and conducts, and I come back to that in the next chapter.

Policy governmentality

As I have given some indication of already (developed in **Part 3**), Teach First is about intervening upon potentially 'illiberal' populations, but the LDP is also about governing the conduct of the *participant* through forms of guidance and *führung*. Teach First is a *governmental technology*, part of a network of 'strategies, techniques and procedures through which different authorities seek to enact programmes of government in relation to the materials and forces to hand and the resistances and oppositions anticipated or encountered' (Rose, 1996b, p. 42). The LDP is a 'complex assemblage of diverse forces (legal, architectural, professional, administrative, financial, judgmental), techniques (notation, computation, calculation, examination, evaluation), devices (surveys and charts, systems of training, building forms) that promise to regulate decisions and actions of individuals, groups, organizations in relation to authoritative criteria' (Rose, 1996b, p. 42). Through the cluster engagement events and exposure to the wider network of direct and indirect partners, the individual participant is presented with a 'wealth of opportunities' to make an enterprise of themselves, to employ and invest in their human capital, and to pursue the 'natural' economy of their own lives. This is, perhaps, a new form of *commercial governance* – a commercial *führung* – whereby the conduct of the participant, *as a citizen and economic agent*, can be governed by and 'nudged' towards commercial ends, for the good of the self and of the commercial enterprise. The LDP is also, as we

have seen, about shaping the conduct and comportment of the participant *as a teacher and a leader of educational transformation*.

Finally, as I suggested in the opening chapter and which I develop further in the next, one can also think about Teach First as a form of ‘policy governmentality’ (Bailey, 2013). What I mean is that Teach First is a ‘space’ or ‘site’ in which the objectives of the neo-liberal state and the internal self-critique of its governing legitimacy, are folded in with the enterprising, responsible and ‘self-enhancing’ practices and choices of individual subjects. Teach First is not passive in this process. It is just one of a myriad governmental technologies of pedagogy and persuasion which enable government to be exercised ‘from a distance’, and in this instance in the governing of policy and the teacher. The programme hence connects up with a ‘continuum, which extends from political government right through to forms of self-regulation – namely, “technologies of the self” (Lemke, 2002, p. 59). It enacts a strategy of responsabilisation from which emerges a depoliticized and individualised human economy, and I address this more directly in the next chapter. Before we get there, I offer Lemke’s (2002, p. 59, my emphasis) point that

[t]he strategy of rendering individual subjects ‘responsible’ (and also collectives, such as families, associations, etc.) entails shifting the responsibility for social risks such as illness, unemployment, poverty, and so forth, and for life in society, into the domain of ‘self-care’. One key feature of the neo-liberal rationality is the *congruence it endeavours to achieve between a responsible and moral individual and an economic-rational individual*.

Fear and Loathing in the Politics of Educational Reform

Teach First: the teacher training equivalent of a bungee jump; an exhilarating, frightening, all-or-nothing experience that is not for the faint hearted. The six week training period, known as 'Summer Institute' is like standing on the edge of a great precipice, fear and trepidation consuming your every nerve and sinew. As you look out across the cavernous maw before you, you stare blindly ahead, desperately hoping you will make it back alive. When the first day of school arrives in September and you can finally take the leap you have been worried about all summer, you are suddenly thrown into the air and are whipped about in the breeze, flailing around like a ragdoll, unable to breathe.

My two years are drawing to their close. I am now hanging upside down, dishevelled, delighted that I survived and determined to keep going, to do it again, but this time, to do it even better. I am by no means a great teacher. I've spent the last year realising exactly what I *don't* know, which is a strangely motivating force. I have learnt far more than I ever thought possible, and below are just some of the things that I have taken from this experience. They outline what has shaped my view of teaching and of the education system, but constitute a mere drop in the ocean of what there is to be learned about the profession.

(Teach First participant)⁵⁵

This evocative and colourful account describes what one might call *the Teach First experience*. It gives an insight, as I explore below, into the *aesthetic* world of Teach First, and the ontology of life as a teacher in the cut and thrust, and perhaps – or so it would seem – brutality of a hyper-performative and precarious policy environment. It also gives a sense of what Lazzarato (2009) calls the 'affective' basis of neo-liberal government, and the subjectivity of what I describe below as the *archetypal Teach First participant*. Interestingly, this blog was posted by a participant on the website for an alternative and apolitical teacher's union called *Edapt*, an enterprise recently established by a Teach First ambassador. In this way, as I hope will become clearer below, it provides a useful point of departure for the various explorations of this chapter, which continues to explore how Teach First is implicated in the ongoing (material, technical, epistemological, anthropological and affective) transformation of

⁵⁵ Available at: https://www.edapt.org.uk/news/2013/07/blog-what-did-i-learn-on-teach-first#.U1ZYW_ldV8E

the education state. I come back to this account at various points below, and augment it with more of the voices and experiences of the subjects of the research.

By drawing particularly on the work of Lazzarato (especially 2004; 2009), which straddles neo-Marxist and Foucauldian theory, this chapter explores Teach First in relation to 'post-Fordist' or 'post-industrial' capitalism and some of the related 'changes occurring in the organisation of labour' (Duzenli, 2006, p. 47). This includes the intensification of *immaterial labour* in the work, organisation (division of labour) and 'creative' strategies of the contemporary Enterprise. Deleuze (1995, p. 181) refers to this ontology as the 'company with a soul', for which 'marketing has become its strategic centre' (Lazzarato, 2004, p. 189). It is an instance and aspect of what Thrift (2005, p. 1) calls 'knowing capitalism', or of how 'Capitalism has a kind of crazy vitality. It doesn't just line its pockets. It also appeals to gut feeling. It gets involved in all kinds of extravagant symbioses. It adds into the world as well as subtracts' – a modern form of creative destruction.

I want to take a look into the 'soul' of Teach First by analysing some of the creative, immaterial and affective practices/technologies whereby the organisation *creates* and *secures* a world, and poses and activates corresponding forms of subjectivity and norms (or aesthetics) of conduct. In particular, I attend to two interrelated forms of immaterial labour, what I call *affective activation* and *aesthetic solicitation*. *Affective activation* is about establishing a (productive) social and governmental relationship with the participants, aligning their subjectivities, energies and commitments towards organisational ends. Accordingly, I will be taking a closer look at the *micro-politics* of Teach First and what it means to *be* a participant of the movement, including some of the affective technologies – the Teach First vision/mission, the conferences and events, the Summer Institute, *e-blasts* – which function to channel, produce and secure the *commitments* and *identifications*, but also the *fears* and (*dis*)*beliefs* of the individual and the community. Lazzarato (2008) describes this as the production of a 'disposition to act'. *Aesthetic solicitation*, on the other hand, involves the posing of what Deleuze and Guattari (2004, p. 89) call 'incorporeal transformations' which solicit and securitise (or authorise and repeat, perhaps even *naturalise*) 'states of being' (Ball, 2013), including the principles and rationalities which anticipate and underpin them. In this sense, I identify the form and profile of the *archetypal Teach First participant* as they are solicited in various immaterial practices and through

different media (publications, website, words, images, competencies, bodies, etc.). Importantly, these practices perform ‘a solicitation, an order which are in themselves valuations, judgements and beliefs about the world, oneself and others’ (Lazzarato, 2004, p. 189). In analysing these different practices I will be touching on a conception of Teach First as a *dispositif of security*, though tackle this more directly in **Part 3** where I investigate the *Teach First problem space of government*.

Over the course of the analysis – the different elements of which I bring together in a summarising discussion – my aim is to illustrate how Teach First solicits an *aesthetics of existence* which *secures*, at least in part, a neo-liberal ontology, including the participant as a ‘capital-competence’, or ‘molecular fraction of capital’ (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 121). Indeed, I deploy the term *aesthetics* for an important reason, and that is to refer to ‘an underlying principle, a set of principles, or a view ... manifested by outward appearances or style of behaviour’ (Free Online Dictionary). As I will argue, the *aesthetics* of the Teach First world and at least one of its correlated anthropological forms – or ways of living and being – anticipates and is underpinned by a formula of rule, or a concoction formed, as Lazzarato (2009) specifies it, from a number of interrelated and symbiotic elements: *inequality, individualisation, insecurity, depoliticisation and financialization*. These elements form what I call the *signature* of neo-liberalisation. These are principles and strategies, moreover, which underpin a more general ‘neo-liberal social policy to undermine the principles and practices of mutualisation and redistribution that the Welfare State and Fordism had promoted’ (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 109), of which *Edapt* is a prime example. In thinking about these principles and their securitisation in the practices of Teach First, I attend to a transformation of the education state which is in part being articulated through the constitution of the participant – already subject to productive forces at school, university, etc. – as a molecular neo-liberal subject who, in archetypal form, is designed and (technically and spiritually) prepared for a competitive, precarious and risky policy (including economic and social) environment. However, in doing this I will also demonstrate how living up to the expectations and obligations inscribed in the archetypal form is an existence fraught with danger and anxiety, and which may lead to failure and an individual sense of worthlessness.

The Teach First world: a risky, moral and affective business

The company producing a product or services produces a world. In its logic, the service or the product, just as the consumer or the worker, must correspond to this world; and the world in its turn has to be inscribed in the souls and bodies of consumers and workers.

(Lazzarato, 2004, p. 188)

Unlike emotions, which are mental phenomena, affects refer equally to body and mind. In fact, affects, such as joy and sadness, reveal the present state of life in the entire organism, expressing a certain state of the body along with a certain mode of thinking. Affective labour, then, is labour that produces or manipulates affects such as a feeling of ease, well-being, satisfaction, excitement, or passion.

(Hardt and Negri, 2004, p. 108)

Teach First expends a great deal of effort, energy and expense on creating a world.⁵⁶ What I mean is that it dedicates (recognised and unrecognised) labour to the 'creation and realisation of the sensible (desires, beliefs, intelligence)' (Lazzarato, 2004, p. 188). The carefully managed brand and public relations, the elaborate website, the glossy and palatable publications, the research activities, the mundane and ambitious public events, and even the Summer Institute are all means through which, and policy sites where, this 'immaterial', 'affective' and 'aesthetic' world is produced and transmitted. These are also discursive spaces and practices which enable the transmission and articulation, amongst other things, of the corresponding form and profile of the *archetypal Teach First participant* which, in part, takes the shape of a molecular neo-liberal subject. This is a world, as I will try to illustrate in a moment, of risk and responsibility, of fear and loathing and moral indignation that *anticipates and solicits*, and *secures* and *activates* the conduct of the hyper-performative teacher.

⁵⁶ It is difficult to determine the precise financial transactions of the organisation. For example, the generic code 'charitable activities' is used as an umbrella term to cover all sorts of costs, though is broken down in the 2012 *financial statement* as follows:

- Graduate recruitment (£4,696, 755)
- Participant leadership and development (£10, 798, 207)
- Ambassador programme (£2, 347, 067)

More broadly, it secures the economic, moral and responsible subject of neo-liberal governmentality, that is, the *new homo œconomicus*.

Immaterial labour

For a number of neo-Marxist theorists, *immaterial labour* is an increasingly prominent aspect of contemporary capitalism and the related work, strategies and operations of the contemporary Enterprise. It comes in many forms and guises, though part of its ontology is referred to by Deleuze (1995), as noted, as the ‘company with a soul’, and conjured by Lazzarato (2004, p. 188) in the (extreme) image of ‘the company without factories’. Broadly speaking, these images serve to convey something of the shift from *Fordist* to *post-Fordist* forms of production and consumption.

Very briefly, this is the move from industrial and standardised mass production and consumption (Fordism), to *post-industrial*, flexible and ‘just-in-time’ production, indexed to the demands (both economic and consumer) of the market. Put simply, post-Fordism involves the intensification and generalisation of the *enterprise form*, and does so in three ways. Firstly, as Hall (1988, p. 24) formulates it, in terms of changes to the economy: the decline of the traditional manufacturing base and the rise of the service economy and new information technologies; flexible accumulation and production; privatisations and contracting out of services (also a form of *financialization*); greater emphasis on product differentiation and the fluctuating wants and tastes of *individual* consumers; and the globalisation of financial markets. Secondly, because it associated with new ‘cultural patterns’ of economic and social life (Amin, 2000, p. 4), that is, ‘it is also associated with greater fragmentation and pluralism, the weakening of older collective solidarities and block identities and the emergence of new identities associated with greater work flexibility, the maximisation of individual choices through personal consumption’ (Hall, 1988, p. 24). Thirdly, because it is related to the increasing strategic emphasis that the contemporary Enterprise places on creative and epistemological functions and capacities (see below). This is an ontology which is perhaps ‘emblematic of a deep transformation within capitalist mode of production’ (Lazzarato, 2004, p. 188) and also within education policy. Teach First is a good example, it fragments and diversifies teacher education, makes up a new kind of *post-Fordist* teacher and concomitantly cultivates

a new kind of *individualised, entrepreneurial and flexible* teacher identity (aspects of the *signature*, including *individualisation, depoliticization* and financialization – see below). As I develop later, the relationship between the enterprise and the participants also constitutes something of a *post-Fordist* organisation of labour. It is also worth pointing out that Teach First is not simply a teacher training agency (of which much of the training is *outsourced*), but also demonstrates marketing and ‘creative’ capacities which would be more than a match for profit-making enterprises in the private sector, and on which in various ways it models itself. This is another example, moreover, of the economisation of the education state, and of the intensification of the enterprise form. That is, of the public sector learning to be more like the private sector, what Ball (2012) calls the ‘neo-liberal curriculum of reform’.

As noted, immaterial labour comes in many forms (of which *affective labour* is one sub-form, itself coming in many different guises). It includes (but is not limited to) work which produces ‘the informational and cultural content of the commodity’ (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 133), or ‘labour that produces an immaterial good, such as a service, a cultural product, knowledge or communication’ (Hardt and Negri, 2000, p. 290) – ‘service with a smile’ being one of its more emblematic and mundane forms. Here, I want to focus on two interrelated forms of immaterial labour that can be observed in the practices of Teach First. Dant (2003, p. 59) identifies these as, firstly, ‘the passing on to the worker of the work of organising production’ (affective activation), and secondly, ‘when the productive work is of something in itself immaterial – language, images, ideas’, or in other words, ‘communicative products’ (aesthetic solicitation). These forms are not mutually exclusive, however, and need to be taken both separately and together.

Before separating them out a little, I should emphasise that both forms involve ‘creative’ activities and technologies, such as marketing, advertising and branding, training, social engagement and Human Resource Management (HRM). These are practices which present and solicit the necessary and the sensible, and which are designed to appeal to, and activate, sensibilities and sensitivities. They manifest, establish and are the product of power relations, and include technologies and ‘spaces’ (conferences, magazines, human competencies, mission statements, training centres) which, as Thrift (2005, p. 134, citing Rose, 1999, p. 4) puts it, ‘can be used to produce collective bodies and identifications “through the inscription of particular

ethical formations, vocabularies of self-description and self-mastery, forms of conduct and body techniques”’. These are techniques and technologies for *capturing* or *securing* bodies and subjectivities, and for producing and establishing a new kind of affective and productive relationship between the individual, their work, and the objectives of the Enterprise (and capital more generally – see below). Lazzarato (2004, p. 188) notes that ‘[w]ithin contemporary capitalism the company does not exist outside the consumers or workers who express it. Its world, its objectivity, its reality merges with the relationships enterprises, workers and consumers have with each other’.

In order to make a calculated, rational and creative enterprise of itself, that is, to ensure that it is on the pulse of (but also prompting, regulating or anticipating) the market, the ‘company without factories’ is at the same time one upgraded with the latest technologies of research, activation and meaning-making, or of *episto-ontologisation*.

How does [the] ... ‘company without factories’ define its boundaries? What will it keep within its concept of the company? In short, all the functions, all the services and all the employees that enable it to create a world: marketing, research and development, design, strategy, communications, that is, the ensemble of all the forces and arrangements (or machines) of expression.

(Lazzarato, 2004, p. 188)

Teach First has at its disposal a well-funded, well-resourced and well-oiled ‘machinery of expression’. This machinery undertakes immaterial and affective work considered necessary for survival within the competitive and volatile market, and that is to say necessary for the organisations vitality (image, productivity, and profitability). As I will explore later, this kind of strategy is evident in the ways in which Teach First tries to establish a social (governmental and productive) relationship with the participant as part of a vital strategy for securitising its performative and other policy objectives – a *post-Fordist* organisation of labour. As a civil agency of *security* – or a member of the liberal police – Teach First also *communicates* to the governed the fruits, threats to, and fragilities of the liberal way of life (see below and Part 3).

At a more basic level, and for the time being, we can say that public image and brand image – including Corporate Social Responsibility – are also key targets and aspects of these immaterial practices. Teach First reflects an image and a persona out to the public – a *brand* – in order to manage trust and to appeal to the sensibilities of the market, including the participant as consumer, worker and socially/morally conscious citizen. The organisation is also dependent on the funding streams from the state and the corporate sector, and so must ‘pitch for investment’ by demonstrating value and programmatic policy alignment.

Brand is the perception someone holds in their head about you, a product, a service, an organization, a cause, or an idea. Brand building is the deliberate and skilful application of effort to create a desired perception in someone else’s mind.

(Forbes – <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jerrymclaughlin/2011/12/14/a-simple-blueprint-for-a-successful-brand/>)

It is through publicity and advertising that Teach First manages and presents a brand which appears sensible and of the common-sense. Stemming from the Latin ‘*ad vertere*’, meaning ‘to turn towards’, to advertise is to try and secure the (positive) attention and trust of the individual consumer – ‘capturing a clientele’, or ‘building a customer capital’ (Zarifian, 2003). Advertising poses *aesthetic solicitations*, as I come back to below, but it is also a strategy for *managing* the legitimacy and perceived utility of services/products, and even the practices of an organisation.

In an increasingly competitive marketplace, greater emphasis is being placed on brand image development as the basis for consumer discrimination. Advertising has a central role to play in developing brand image, whether at the corporate, retail or product level. It informs consumers of the functional capacities of the brand while simultaneously imbuing the brand with symbolic values and meanings relevant to the consumer.

(Meenaghan, 1995, abstract)

Research is a key aspect of this as it enables Teach First, for example, to remain active, authoritative and relevant, as is recruitment (attracting that ‘top talent’), which has been a key objective for the organisation as it has sought and achieved the status of top graduate recruiter (and which will remain important as the teacher education market continues to diversify, fragment and become more competitive). I have already noted some of the positive reception that Teach First receives in the media

and policy conversations, and the *perception* that it is ‘common-sense’ (‘absolutely everyone wins’), ‘fantastic’, and ‘better quality’. It has also enjoyed prime-time exposure on terrestrial television through the documentary *Tough Young Teachers*, aired in 2014. Together, the enterprise manages to communicate to the potential recruit the chance of being

part of something that ‘A’ is seen as really prestigious because of, you know, all these companies who sponsor it, but ‘B’ that is actually trying to make this massive difference.

(Participant, interview)

In order to develop the analysis, I want to partially separate out the two forms of immaterial/affective labour that I noted above: *aesthetic solicitation* and *affective activation*. In terms of the latter, I will explore some of the affective technologies which aim to establish and maintain a social (productive and governmental) relationship with the participant. As an affective technology of government, we can also begin to consider Teach First as an element of a *liberal dispositif of security* which stimulates the fears of the governed, a theme I develop and take further in **Part 3**. Firstly, however, I want to illustrate the kind of bodies and subjectivities – the conducts and forms of life – which are solicited in the creative practices of Teach First, that is, the ‘incorporeal transformations’ which it poses and seeks to secure within the conducts of the participants and, more broadly, the education state. In doing this, my aim is to outline the form and profile of the *archetypal Teach First participant* as solicited and securitised in different practices and artefacts (including the Teach First competencies and values; recruitment brochures; the website; events). In doing this, however, it is important to bear in mind that power diffracts through and constitutes the subject in multiple ways, and I do not pretend to offer a complete picture of subjectivity here. Dean (1996, p. 224) cautions:

there is no single mode of subjectification corresponding to an age, an epoch, an institution or even a single individual. We are obligated differently according to different regimes of governmental and ethical practices. The same individual may find him- or herself obligated by various governmental-ethical regimes as citizen, mother, breadwinner, worker, entrepreneur, manager, health-conscious individual, consumer, taxpayer, juror, voter, patient, client, member of a neighbourhood or community, and so on.

Aesthetic solicitation

Publicity, in a manner of 'event', organizes first the ways to feel so that it can solicit a way of living; it actualizes and organizes the way to feel and to be felt in the souls to be able to realize them in bodies ... Incorporeal transformations produce (or would like to produce) first and foremost a change in sensibility, a change in our way to value and perceive. Incorporeal transformations have no referent, they are self-referential. There are no preliminary needs, no natural necessities that their production would satisfy. Incorporeal transformations pose valuations and their object at the same time as they create them.

(Lazzarato, 2004, p. 189)

The image, form and profile of the *archetypal Teach First participant* poses an 'incorporeal transformation' which, in the last instance, may be more or less realised in the body and the soul.⁵⁷ It is a subject position loaded with meaning and programmed with certain expectations and obligations. Its archetypal form poses a particular way of living and being, that is, it authorises an *aesthetics of existence* which is underpinned by a number of principles, objectives, rationalities and subjectifications, inherited from the long (dis)continuities of power.

The different 'faces' and 'states' of the archetypal form can be discerned from a number of sources, some of which, as noted, we have come across already (under spotlights at events; in Teach First communications; the media). The Teach First *selection competencies*⁵⁸ – designed in consultation with 'the best headteachers in London ... [and] with the recruitment departments at some of our largest business sponsors' (Wigdortz, 2012, no page), or rather, designed in consultation with the liberal police – break this form down into some of its molecular parts (see Figure 6.1.). Teach First describes the individual fabricated in these competencies as follows:

You'll need to be someone with bright ideas, gritty determination, awesome communication skills and a desire to defy convention. You'll combine a strong work ethic and self-discipline with warmth, empathy and humility. And you'll have to be resilient – very resilient ... In short, you'll need to be someone special, and that's just the beginning.

(Teach First, website)

⁵⁷ I explore the *self-animating* technologies of which the participants are subject to at the Teach First Assessment Centre in Part 3 in order to demonstrate the ways in which these kinds of solicitations are, potentially and in part at least, 'realised' in the body and speaking subject.

⁵⁸ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/application-selection/requirements>

How We Work (Teach First Values)	What We Look For* (Selection Competencies)
Collaboration	Interaction
Commitment	Knowledge Resilience
Excellence	Self Evaluation Planning & Organising
Integrity	Humility, Respect & Empathy
Leadership	Leadership Problem Solving

*Our values shape the culture of how we operate at Teach First and our competencies allow us to determine your potential to be an impactful teacher.

Figure 6.1. Teach First's Core Competencies and Values

The archetypal participant, then, is a 'special' subject, an 'exceptional graduate'. They are, perhaps, an *exceptional* case *of* the norm (an interesting example of a 'state of exception' which could be explored). The archetypal form is bright, enterprising and innovative (bright ideas, problem solving, defiant of convention), and a 'proactive' *leader* who 'strives to achieve above and beyond expectations' (Teach First website). It is also worth noting that the form embodies the asceticism of the good puritan (strong work ethic and self-discipline), and demonstrates the communicative skills required of the secular pastor (interaction, warmth, empathy and humility – see **Part 3**):

We look for those that can build relationships quickly, giving value and respect to others to get the best out of them.⁵⁹

The archetypal form is also *resilient*, or rather, *very resilient*, which means that it refers to an individual who is particularly tough, strong and pliable in the face of adversity and uncertainty (gritty determination). Resilience (and agility) is considered a desirable (and anticipated) human capital for survival (both for the organisation and the individual) in the competitive environment of the market and Enterprise, and, indeed, in the competitive-performative environment of the school. In **Part 3**, I explore how discourses of resilience are founded in *Cognitive Behavioural Therapy* and the discipline of *Ecology*, but for now we can say that the resilient and agile self

⁵⁹ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/recruitment/requirements/>

is prepared and able to withstand, negotiate, exploit, and reinvent itself according to the rhythms and perils of 'restless capital' and economic globalisation, and, in an educational context, the demands of performativity. Gillies (2011, p. 215) notes: 'The sustainability of this neo-liberal paradigm is that any enterprise may, and does fail but the resilient, entrepreneurial self can always renew itself in new contexts. Market failure besets, but thus need not defeat, the agile self'.

As demonstrated in the extract at the top of this chapter, the Teach First experience is one of being 'thrown into the air and whipped about in the breeze', and left 'flailing around like a ragdoll, unable to breathe'. The *resilience* to survive this physical and emotional barrage, but also the *will* and the *determination* 'to keep going, to do it again, but this time, to do it even better' are qualities and obligations which together articulate and secure the good neo-liberal subject of *enterprise, competition and risk*.



Figure 6.2. Teach First Graduate Recruitment Brochure: Front Cover

Figure 6.2. shows the front cover to a Teach First graduate recruitment brochure (2013). It is interesting because it immediately appeals to the *new homo æconomicus*.

It poses an *aesthetic solicitation* which invites and securitises the competitive spirit ('The challenge starts here') and responsabilisation of 'economic man'. It also articulates again the secular pastoralism (the worldly Salvationism) of the teacher and the spirituality of the Teach First journey ('Change their lives and change yours' – Teach First as a technology of the self). Here I concentrate on the former, but return to the latter in **Part 3**.

To *challenge* is 'to call someone to participate in a competitive situation or fight to decide who is superior in terms of ability or strength'. It is 'a task or situation that tests someone's abilities' and even, in medicine, 'to expose (the immune system) to pathogenic organisms and antigens' (Oxford English Dictionary Online – see **Part 3** on bio-politics). The Teach First world is thus (marketed as) a competitive game of *human capital*, in which one must rely on one's own capacities for (economic and ethical) self-management – a responsibility to self – to get the most out of the experience and the opportunities presented for self-investment, as we saw in the previous chapter.⁶⁰

How your journey develops will be down to you but Teach First will provide you with support and the opportunities to progress rapidly and individually, while always staying focused on engaging with our vision.⁶¹

The recruitment brochure even persuades, solicits and subjects the reader by profiling a number of ambassadors, detailing amongst other things their 'impact' in the classroom, their tips for surviving the programme, and the successful careers they have gone on to secure after their 'two years', in most instances, as documented in this text at least, in the private sector. The (instrumental) economic journey is down to the choices, decisions and the calculations of the individual, who is activated by, and authorised, as we will see again later, in relation to the 'vision'.

Laura: The mission ...

Maria: Yeah.

⁶⁰ Recruitment onto the programme is highly competitive. In 2012, only about 14 percent of around 7000 applications were successful.

⁶¹ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/leadership-development-programme>

- Laura: ... without being cheesy. It was nice to be a part of something that I was doing that was, kind of, social impact rather than just having an ordinary job for the sake of just the salary.
- Maria: Yeah.
- Laura: That was really appealing, to be involved in something that seemed quite significant.
- Rebecca: I mean when you look on the Teach First website, for me personally, they really sell it to you: you do your two years and they will do as much as they can to help you find your career afterwards and that appealed to me because I thought I'm a bit lost. I quite liked the idea of teaching but *it was the mission that sold me because I was like I don't know exactly what I want to do and then they will help me afterwards*. I don't know actually how accurate that is now, I feel, but it did seem like they would really really help you afterwards and that's what I really ...
- Monica: I agree with that as well because one of the things that got me was the fact that they have got the coaching scheme and the fact that *I might be able to open my own business with their help* and, again, I'm not sure of the accuracy, not because it's not true, it's just I haven't reached that stage yet. But *I feel that there are opportunities where they'll be able to support me in starting my own social enterprise or whatever* just because of, as Laura says, the networks that are there and also just their own expertise and the fact that because you're an ambassador they will want to help you.

The world is also (marketed as) a competitive game of *survival*, where to stay alive one must again rely on one's capacities for self-management, that is, on one's *resilience*, wits and reactions. To survive as a teacher, for example, one must keep pace with the metronomes of *performance* and their incessant and shifting demands, accents and time signatures – failure to do so and one is letting down oneself, the school and the programme. Some of the competencies, like problem-solving and resilience, even read a little like instructions for participation and survival in a game, and which in themselves solicit something of an entrepreneurial way of being:

Problem Solving

Every day you will face new challenges and will have to come up with considered, effective and appropriate solutions in response. Whilst drawing on resources and logic you will also need to use creativity and innovation to be successful.

Resilience

You will need to be hungry for a challenge, using patience and endless energy to persevere through the difficult times. When faced with obstacles you will need to be tenacious and versatile and maintain a positive mindset.

Figure 6.3. Teach First Competencies: Problem Solving and Resilience⁶²

I should note that these kinds of qualities, skills or capacities are not, in themselves, worthless. However, as Kelly (2006, p. 29) argues, ‘within the frame of entrepreneurial selfhood ... [they] are narrowly imagined in relation to the performance of exchange relations in the extended order of capitalist markets’. Indeed, it is worth reiterating that the participant is exchanged under a *guarantee to perform*, or under a *performative promise* (an *obligation* or *debt*) to ‘transform the life opportunities of children and young people’ (Teach First) – i.e. improve performance, increase competitiveness. But this guarantee – whilst a form of *activation* and *identification* (see below) – can also be experienced as a burden, and can secure existential *precarity* and *anxiety* into the working life of the participant:

And I think Teach First sell us to the school, like, it seems to be from the way my headteacher has reported it, that Teach First sell us to the school like we’re these kinds of wunderkinds who are going to solve all their problems. I’m not quite sure why she bought that, but she seemed to. I think she was expecting an awful lot.

(James, participant, interview)

... Do you feel like you’re different? Which can add a lot of pressure sometimes because you feel that you are put in this situation where you are supposed to be exceptional sometimes or people are looking to you to always perform at your best and then any slip is just like “oh, well” or, you know, “well, that’s Teach First, you can do it, you can handle it”.

(Monica, participant, interview)

I’m very lucky to be in the school that I am in because I know of primary participants who are friends who have really had it hard because they’ve had

⁶² <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/application-selection/requirements>

absolutely no support and far too high expectation on them without any training.

(Sam, participant, interview)

Of course, there is added risk and insecurity here. On the one hand are the inequalities and inequities of the market ('lucky to be in the school I am in'). On the other is the fact that, as we discover in the graduate recruitment brochure:

Only one in ten teachers would consider teaching in a challenging school.

Whilst we are left to assume why this might be the case, and even the validity of this statement, it is accompanied, rather suggestively, by various *vital statistics* on educational disadvantage, and its relation to individual and school (performance) failure, and the latter's relation to future *indispositional* conducts such as crime, and malignant subjectivities like NEET⁶³ (see **Part 3**). This is both *affective activation* and *aesthetic solicitation*. The brochure appeals to sensibilities and sensitivities, that is, it induces and solicits fear both of and for the *other*, of and for the *self*, and of and for the present and future vitality of the 'city' (society, the economy, the nation). In this sense, we see here a manifestation of the city-citizen (and shepherd-flock) game, the particular problem space of which I explore in the next chapter:

Educational disadvantage limits students' futures and damages our society – it's not right; it's not fair; and it can't be allowed to persist.

Join us and take up the challenge.

(Recruitment Brochure)

One participant described the Teach First experience, rather tellingly, as 'extreme teaching'. The participant takes a risk (takes up the challenge) by practising in a context and space which is fabricated as *malignant* and *abnormal* (see **Part 3**), and with only limited training and experience. At the same time, however, they are challenged and put to the test of risky conditions, and offered the possibility of exhilaration:

⁶³ Not in Education, Employment, or Training.

It's a bit like extreme teaching ... I suppose it is like extreme teacher training. I really fancied the challenge of being thrown into a very challenging environment and having to learn on the job.

(Kim, participant, interview)

The archetypal participant, then, is bold and courageous, and craves individual responsibility. They are prepared to take a chance and seek a thrill whilst always calculating the costs and benefits of their actions and choices. In this way, the archetypal form is the good neo-liberal 'subject of risk', who embodies the dual image and obligations of 'the responsible (moral) and of the rational (calculating) individual' (O'Malley, 1996, p. 199).

I've always thought that I would never have done, like, a PGCE ... because I think I wouldn't have enjoyed 'A' going back to university and having to do all the theory stuff, even though I did that with Teach First and *I had to do it on my own*. But *what I enjoyed* about Teach First was *having the responsibility from day one over my own classes* ... So I'm glad I went through Teach First and I ... *from day one I was just left on my own*.

And *I knew it was going to be a challenge* because I knew, like, *they'd always tell me from Teach First, they'd always say, you know, "it is gonna be difficult"* and whenever I'd mention it or whenever anyone would talk about Teach First who ... who knew someone who'd done it *they'd say "oh yeah it's really intense, it's really difficult"*. And it is really difficult, extremely difficult but ... *but I knew it, I'd prepared myself for that* and ... Yeah, I knew it was gonna be a challenge. I don't think I knew how ... just exactly how hard because I don't think you can know. It's like anything; people can tell you but until you experience it you don't know yourself.

It's that much more rewarding that I've got through something that people consider to be really intense and really difficult and I think it's made me ... *it's given me the experience* that someone who's only been teaching for a year and a half... *I've got more experience* than someone who would have done a PGCE for example, *a lot more experience* and I'm sort of at a position now I think where if I'd done a PGCE or something different *I wouldn't have this much responsibility or this much experience. I feel like I'm 3 or 4 years down the road but I'm only a year and a term into it*.

(Richard, participant, interview)

This 'intense' and 'difficult' world, which, upon entering, is like 'standing on the edge of a great precipice', is at one and the same time a potentially 'rewarding' and satisfying world, though one which in part depends on meritocracy and, in antithesis of the principles of the welfare state, chance. We get a sense of this risky and

individualised form in the account above in the participant's *will* for individual responsibility, and the *desire* to be left alone to make personal provisions against risk ('I'd prepared myself for that'). There is a calculation, a projection and a rationalisation of the costs and benefits (both economic and personal) associated with taking up the challenge of the programme ('3 or 4 years down the road'; 'I knew it was going to be a challenge'). O'Malley (ibid, 1996, pp. 199-200) argues:

The rational individual will wish to become responsible for the self, for (albeit via some neo-liberal manipulation of the environment), this will produce the most palatable, pleasurable and effective mode of provision for security against risk. Equally, the responsible individual will take rational steps to avoid and to ensure against risk, in order to be independent rather than a burden upon others.

The Teach First world is a precarious and individualised kind of encounter described by a number of my interviewees in terms of 'sink or swim'. The participant – both actual and perceived – is left to fend for him/herself, to survive or to perish. One aspect of this is the ways in which they are individually contracted to their schools as trainees, with little room for negotiation and manoeuvre upon encountering any problems or difficulties. Their sense of insecurity and isolation is implicated in their own governance, as explored more fully below, and is just one outcome of the contractualisation and monetisation of education policy. Ball (2010c, p. 126, citing Yeatman, 1996, p 285, and citing Foucault, 1977, p. 194) notes:

Contracts bring about a re-shaping of the culture and structures of governance ... and of service relationships and of the commitments of public service workers. At heart this is a process of disaggregation and individualisation both of governance itself and of service relationships which are increasingly 'conceived as a series of cascading contracts linking principals and agents' ... The body politic is replaced by what Foucault calls 'mercantile society', which is 'represented as a contractual association of isolated juridical subjects'.

It is perhaps understandable, and also a touch ironic – bearing in mind the image of the archetypal form – that the most common criticism of Teach First amongst the participants I interviewed was the 'lack of support' that they received:

Janet: The disadvantages of Teach First [is] the first year of the programme and that is how we're actually supported ... Basically, if there is any kind of thing going wrong in your school, you're meant to run to either one of those people [professional or subject tutor]. Now, on your PGCE, if you

don't like anything in your school you can say "I'm going, I'm not having this" and they will have to find you somewhere else – obviously not as easy as that, but if you feel that it's not working, they have to replace you. And I've seen it not only with the PGCE but with the GTP. However, with Teach First that can't happen.

Rebecca: The answer is "well we told you they were going to be a struggle, we told you it was a challenging school". That's their answer: "this is what you signed up for" ... They just tell you that "you applied for a challenging school, you can do it. You're changing lives, keep going, end of".

Janet: And the reason for that is because ultimately they are hiring us to be teachers straight away. We are under contract and therefore they don't have the legal right to take us out.

(Group interview)

Once you come into the school you're not really ... you don't really have Teach First's support. So you come into a school and you have to fight your own battles and I suppose in a way that's positive because that's life and you should be able to do that, but in other ways you'd expect maybe to be given some advice from Teach First and maybe kind of directed and inspired a little bit more, but you don't get that at all. And maybe that's a good thing; it's difficult to know at the moment.

(Sheila, participant, interview)

The irony here is that the cultivation of the entrepreneurial self and, moreover, the *hyper-performative* teacher, are correlates of a form of government which in part aims to displace the collective and socialised securities of the welfare state, and to infiltrate and disband 'enclosures of expertise' like the teaching profession by subsuming them 'to new formal calculative regimes' (Dean, 2010, p. 197). The entrepreneurial self (and the participant as an individualised transformational force), is a self-managing and self-maximizing unit, who bears the responsibility for his/her own protection as the mechanisms of social government and security are withdrawn.

Affective activation

The company not only has to create a world for the consumer ... but also for the worker. To work within a contemporary organization means to belong, to adhere to its world, to its desires and beliefs.

(Lazzarato, 2004, p. 194)

To put it rather prosaically, *affective activation* involves the responsabilisation of the subject (worker) in the processes of production. It ‘includes the activities of workers who participate in [and design, manage] quality circles, team-building exercises and preparing mission statements, and who fill in suggestion forms and contribute to “away days” and other activities that reflect on and redesign the nature of their work’ (Dant, 2003, p. 59). The Teach First teacher is, indeed, a *participant*, which is an *active* subject position (an *aesthetic solicitation*). The individual recruit is imagined as a molecular engineer in the productive (performative, cultural, transformational) and moral ends of the enterprise (the mission). I have already looked at the form and profile of the *archetypal participant*; here I explore how the productive capacities and commitments of the subject – their ‘disposition to act’ (Lazzarato, 2008, no page) – are ‘activated’ and governed by means of a number of affective technologies. A good place to start is the *Teach First Summer Institute*:

There was a lot of like ... it’s hard to explain it but there is a lot of buzzwords used by Teach First. There are a lot of *videos* that are designed to be *highly emotive* – I’m in one now so how can I criticise? And there was something faintly American about it. There was a lot of like “you are going to address educational disadvantage, you are the future”. Like all this kind of *rhetoric around you as an individual and around the mission* ... There was a *big emphasis on educational disadvantage and what that might look like*. Unfortunately, I think, that was very much *emotional* and *preparing* you to deal with *behavioural problems* and kind of *educating* the Teach First intake who I suppose are largely middle class affluent people who haven’t really been in the inner-city and aren’t aware of the realities of poverty and therefore might have ... There was a *big emphasis on understanding where these children come from and understanding how sociological factors effect behaviour and effect attainment*.

(Kim, participant, interview)

Some of it was quite cheesy at times because they’d have all these very like *motivational videos, and chant the mission* and ... but then actually it was ... *it was actually really lovely to see the whole mission really, with all its participants in one place really and all the people who are there for the right reasons who have been accepted, all like-minded people, all there for the same reasons and it was actually quite a sort of a bonding and sort of a focussing time really to think “oh yeah this is why I’m doing it”*. I really really enjoyed the institute and again I enjoyed going back last year as well.

The main idea of it I suppose was probably just to *unite us all together* and to, sort of, show everyone *how important this movement was and what we were gonna be doing was*. I think most of it was *actually probably just to pump us up and get us ready for September, not necessarily to teach, but to be*

motivated and to be ... yeah to be *willing* and to be *energised* and *passionate* about what we were gonna be doing because ultimately it's going to be the *passion* and the *motivation* that's going to *get us through these hard times*. Because *when you're knocked down so many times in the first year you need to have that to be able to pick yourself up again basically, that resilience*.

(Michelle, participant, interview)

But yeah, we went out into a few classes, a few classrooms, and taught practice lessons and did a few practice lessons and, yeah I guess that they ... *they do really drive their mission as in: "the reason why you're here is this, keep that in mind all the time. You are going to find that there are going to be tough points, there is going to be highs and lows, but ultimately this is why we're here" and that you're part of like a massive sort of movement of change; that was always reiterated*. It's very sort of geared around very Teach Firsty language and you either take to it or you don't really. But I think it sort of got across everything that ... they gave you as much stuff as you could ever expect in six weeks and then, do you know what I mean, *ultimately when you're going into the classroom you're not qualified and I don't think anything really can prepare you for that*.

(Emily, participant, interview)

The Summer Institute is a technology of affective government. Whilst it involves some training and professional preparation, perhaps its main function and purpose, as we can see above, is to secure the commitments of the participants, and to build a common sense of identity, affiliation and purpose ('to unite us all together'). It is an *affective technology*, then, which aims to establish a *social* and *productive* relationship (pumped up, motivated, passionate) with the individual and the collective, which in some instances – but certainly not all – runs deep: one ambassador of the programme described their investment in the organisation and movement in terms of 'transcendental belief'.⁶⁴ The Summer Institute is one of a number of technologies which, as I return to in **Part 3**, provide a conduit for an 'affective bio-power' (Begg, 2012) which makes claims about and animates, in complex relations with other modalities and techniques of power, forms of valued life amongst others.

'This is why I'm doing it; this is why I'm here'. A number of affective technologies and techniques can be identified here: the emotive and motivational videos; the mission (even *chanting the mission*, which in some ways overlaps with *animation* –

⁶⁴ *Personal communications, courtesy of colleague.*

see Part 3); the cultivating of an identity and community ('all likeminded people, all here for the same reasons'); the foretelling of 'tough times' and 'danger'; the diagnoses of the vital realities and *indispositional* conducts of the poor and disadvantaged (their behaviour and sociology – see Part 3); the perpetuation of fear and the moral indignations; and the manufacturing/securing of hope and (dis)belief. These are technologies programmed to activate, in the words of one of the participants above, a *willing, energised* and *passionate* subject. That is to say, they aim to secure the commitments and the fears of the individual and the collective – their vital capacities and senses – and to mobilise them towards the fulfilment of the performative and cultural ends of the organisation. They can thus 'be defined as the capacity to activate and manage productive cooperation. In this phase, workers are expected to become "active subjects" in the coordination of the various functions of production, instead of being subjected to it as simple command' (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 135):

I was actually really excited ... no reservations except for just wanting to do a really good job and I think the pressure and wanting to do well for the school but also for myself and then also for the programme. So just feeling the pressure, but no reservations I don't think.

(Ada, participant, interview)

At Teach First they try to inculcate this feeling that you're a separate breed, not of teacher necessarily, of, like, human and this is your identity. Part of your identity is Teach First and the ethos and the – what are they supposed to be, not the commitments, the ... I don't know the six attributes that you are supposed to have – which as a Brit and as someone who is not a total moron it was easy to distance myself from and be critical about, but emotionally I have invested in. And I think it has got value in that what it did do, particularly in the first year, was it made me work really fucking hard. It's people telling you on a regular basis "you are exceptional. You can push yourself far beyond what you are genuinely capable of". And it's about being a martyr: "look at this martyr over here. Look at this martyr over here. Listen to this martyr's story". And they're all doing it in the name of – can we argue with it – helping children who are vulnerable have the best life possible. It's a highly emotive topic and what it does is motivate people to work insanely hard and a lot of the people I know really did work insanely hard in that first year because they didn't know what the fuck they were doing but they pushed on through it. And it was really shitty and it was a really gruelling, difficult emotional experience and that created identity and a kind of aspirational identity which did help you pull through it and also did help you feel like it's not just you in your classroom, in your school, but like you're part of a collective group of people who sometimes feel shit but who are striving towards something. And I think

it's a false meta-narrative. I'm not invested in it but emotionally it has given me security. I don't know how to explain that.

(Kim, participant, interview)

To be sure, there are other technologies at work here, constituting the participants as governable subjects: what Dean (2010) calls technologies of agency and performance. The former 'seek to enhance or deploy our possibilities of agency', whilst the latter, as I have already explored, are 'technical means for locking the moral and political requirements of the shaping of conduct into the optimization of performance' (Dean, 2010, pp. 196-197). The participant as an *active subject* and *hyper-performative teacher*, as noted previously, bears an agency which in large measure is produced and consumed by obligations to perform.

It is interesting to note that this kind of *affective activation* is an ongoing process, occurring in different spaces and through different media. The subject is prompted and governed through the 'Hertzian flows' as Lazzarato (2004, p. 190) puts it, 'of information and communication within which [they] are immersed'. Teach First tries to maintain 'contact' with the participant in a number of ways:

Teach First really does try and kind of promote this idea of, you know, we are trying to make, you know, we are trying to change the game basically. We're trying to make it so that everything is fair for everybody, its equal opportunities for all children and things like that. And every single event I go to, I get fazed and then I'm like – it was really terrible actually – *this Summer Institute when we went back, kind of, I was so resentful of going back. I was knackered, I'd had a really tough year and then, you know, three days in they changed my mind-set again and I was like oh this is all ok again, I'm really interested by education again and it's all interesting. So they do kind of like indoctrinate you basically.*

(April, Teach First participant, interview)

Firstly are the events like the Summer Institute and the annual conference. The interviewee above describes how going back to the Institute after a 'tough year' – despite strong reservations – resulted in a 'change of mindset *again*', a realigning of their productive capacities and spiritual energies to the moral and necessary business of the mission. But there are other examples of this kind of 'affective nudging', including the Teach First *e-blasts*:

- Rebecca: They make you feel like you are amazing to be on here. I can't remember what word, what tag line...
- Maria: Exceptional.
- Rebecca: ... exceptional. They tell you from the beginning that this is an exceptional grad scheme and you will be exceptional. And there's this confidence feeding off something that makes you feel like no actually I'm quite good, I'm quite good ... *And it's constant. You regularly get ... you get an email every Friday* telling you you're an exceptional graduate and then giving you loads of details about it, so you can't help but feel like yeah OK ...
- Maria: On the really bad days.
- Rebecca: ... yeah *I will do this because I'm part of this big movement* that's trying to make educational change. *I'm part of that, I'm gonna ask for this.*
- Maria: *Keeps you on a high.*
- Rebecca: Yeah so I think they're really good at keeping you on a high.
- Interviewer: Do you get this email every Friday?
- Rebecca: You get an email; it's called an *e-blast*, every Friday [...] every other Friday and it just tells you about opportunities within Teach First and, externally, opportunities for your students, for you, and just to kind of keep, I guess, to *keep that affinity going.*

(Group interview)

The *e-blast* is an affective technology designed to 'keep you on a high'. It reminds the participant of their *worth* ('you are exceptional') and *moral duties* ('part of this big movement to make educational change') and *authorisation* ('I am part of that, I'm going to ask for this'). The image of the 'exceptional graduate' is an incorporeal transformation – a solicitation – which I have already discussed. But there are also overtones of evangelical religious fervour here, a missionary zeal and form of pastoralism which affirms the legitimacy of the subject and their actions upon themselves and others. Indeed, we can say that these affective technologies are about 'keeping that affinity going', or in other words, securing a social and governmental (and pastoral) relationship with and amongst the participants:

- Maria: It's also like the branding, because if you say you're a teacher "Oh I'm a teacher too let's have a discussion". It is almost like, yeah ... *I might see someone on a train and they've got Teach First on them and you're like "oh you're a part of Teach First" and you automatically feel connected ...*
- All: Yeah (chorus).
- Maria: ... as soon as you know ...
- Rebecca: *Like an affinity.*
- Maria: ... Yeah it is like an affinity, it's more than just being a teacher. You know, I meet teachers and ...
- Laura: It's a perspective on ...
- Maria: ... share your experience. But *if you're part of Teach First it's like you're part of Teach First ...*
- Laura: *the mission ...*
- Maria: ... *and it probably is because of the mission.*

(Group interview)

Teach First is a values and competency based organisation (as above). It is through these kinds of technologies that ways of living and being are solicited, and presented as common-sense and necessary. But the specification and fabrication of the participant – their qualities, commitments, obligations and motivations – also forms a kind of register of identification ('all like-minded people') and a source of affiliation, and which may, as we see in the example below, be embodied, or 'become part of your natural way of working':

- Maria: My own head of department is like "yeah I noticed you Teach First walk around with your hard-drive everywhere" ...
- Rebecca: Yeah.
- Maria: ... and you're like "yeah because *that's what we do, we share resources*", like "oh you've got a whole scheme of work on this. Great, plug me in" ...
- Rebecca: Yeah. [...]
- Maria: But *that's one of our values*, collaboration ...
- All: Yeah.

Maria: ... and you find that *the values* – it's so cheesy – but it *becomes a natural part of your way of working*.

(Group interview)

The apparent *ownership* of these values and competencies ('*our values*', 'that's what we do'), and the identification with and embodiment of the *brand* ('having the Teach First name on your back'; 'if you're part of Teach First it's like you're part of Teach First'), are indications of two things. On the one hand, we can see the increasing *individualisation, fragmentation and commercialisation* of the teacher (and teacher education). On the other, as Lazzarato (2003, no page) puts it, we can also see that 'the paradigmatic body of our societies is no longer the mute body moulded by discipline, but rather it is the bodies and souls marked by the signs, words and images (company logos) that are inscribed in us'. As Lazzarato (1996, p. 134) argues elsewhere, and noted already, 'what modern management techniques are looking for is for "the worker's soul to become part of the factory." The worker's personality and subjectivity have to be made susceptible to organization and command', and conducive for exploitation and capital (and performative) accumulation. It is a matter of securing 'the individual's function, as a molecular fraction of capital' (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 121), and, more locally, the participants' function as a molecular fraction of Teach First.

Competencies enable organizations to integrate strategic HR and business plans into one seamless overarching strategy to develop people, optimize resource allocation, enhance services, and create efficiencies.

Competencies are widely acknowledged as the best system for setting benchmarks to effectively plan, measure and develop your workforce, thus achieving a skilled, engaged and productive workforce that will ensure you deliver business goals and increase business performance.

(Human Resource Systems Group - <http://www.competencycore.com/why-competency-based-talent-management>)

In a moment I will try and tie these various analytical themes together in a discussion of the *Teach First aesthetics of existence*. Firstly, however, it is worth pointing out that the aesthetic solicitations of Teach First, including the competencies and values and their specifications of conduct, are not simply a matter of choice for the good subject of neo-liberal government. Take the *Knowledge* competency:

You will need to show passion for Teach First, our vision and mission, as well as understanding and enthusiasm for the Leadership Development Programme.⁶⁵

The *obligation* to uphold the values and affects of the movement, to show enthusiasm towards the mission/vision and the LDP, is also stipulated in job advertisements and employment contracts (sometimes called ‘championing Teach First’). The competencies and the other solicitations specify a ‘repertoire’ of conduct (Dean, 1995) which is further enforced in the *Policies and Procedures for Participants*, a document which outlines, amongst other things, the (performative and behavioural) expectations and obligations of the participant, and their conditions of contract:

In joining Teach First, you have made a commitment to develop as an effective teacher and to work to raise the achievement, access to opportunity and aspirations of your pupils. You have agreed to meet Teach First’s expectations and to work within our values.

Participants who behave in ways which are contrary to Teach First values may have the Participant Improvement Procedures initiated and may be dismissed.

(Teach First Policies and Procedures, 2011)

What we see here is a policing of conduct through specification, disciplinary intervention and threats of sanction, which can also perhaps be conceived as a form of authoritarian governmentality (Dean, 2007). Dean (ibid, p. 122) suggests:

[I]t is not necessary to focus on the catastrophic uses of biology, genetics and population control in non-liberal states to discover the generation of norms by human scientific knowledge strong enough to be enforced by sovereign powers. We need instead, perhaps, look no further than that region of knowledge that is paradigmatic of the processes of civil society, that concerning the market, and the disciplines of political economy and economics.

In other words, Teach First solicits and polices a form of conduct indexed to the requirements of the market and, as I will argue below, the ‘profitability of capital’ (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 121) – i.e. the entrepreneurial, resilient, and disciplined self. It is also interesting to note that the participants even undertake some of this policing work themselves. In particular, there is a kind of intra-community disciplinary power at

⁶⁵ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/application-selection/requirements>

play here (a participant 'gaze', perhaps) which is evident in the ridiculing of others who are perceived to defy the conventions of the norms or aesthetics of the archetypal form – an aspect of *entreprenopticism*:

The guy who came to work at my school, genuinely if he'd of been at my assessment day I would have put money on him not getting in; from his appearance, from – even when Maria saw him Maria was like “what” – his general appearance, the way he carried himself, the way he ... his confidence levels, everything about him. He looked like he was in need of a Teach First mentor, not to be a Teach First participant.

(Rebecca, participant, group interview)

This is to caution that there is more to the *dispositivity* of Teach First than governmental and affective power, or the conduct of conduct: discipline still has a place in the contemporary Enterprise and the governing of even the more aspiring neo-liberal subject. As Lazzarato (2004, p. 191) notes, ‘it would be too generous towards our capitalist societies to think that everything happens through continuous variation of subjects and objects, the modulation of brains, and the capture of memory and attention ... The control society also integrates “old” disciplinary dispositifs’.

I have covered a lot of ground and gone in a number of directions here. Next I want to take stock of things, get a sense of the lie of the land, and think more broadly and critically about the ontology of the Teach First world and its place within ‘the neo-liberal universe’ (Lazzarato, 2008). I also want to think more directly about how all of this can be viewed as an instance of neo-liberalisation and affective government, and in terms of a molecular transformation of the education state.

Discussion: The Teach First aesthetics of existence

The ongoing transformation of the education state is being enacted, as I have argued in the previous chapter, through dual processes of big ‘N’ and small ‘n’ neo-liberalism. That is, the opening up of new opportunities for economisation and profit, and the production of willing, self-governing and entrepreneurial selves (Ball, 2012). To be a little more precise, this is a transformation which is underpinned by five interdependent and symbiotic principles and ‘states of being’ (Ball, 2013): *inequality, insecurity, individualisation, depoliticisation and financialization* (Lazzarato, 2009).

These principles form what I have termed the *signature* of neo-liberalisation, and together ‘constitute a “politics of the social” and an ontological framework that displaces the principles of the welfare state’ (Ball, 2013, p. 133). Although I have referred to some of these principles in isolation, I want now to point up more directly how they are secured in the Teach First *aesthetics of existence*, and manifest in the conducts and subjectivities of the participants. I will take each more or less in turn, and attend to some of their interrelations.

Inequality is a necessary condition of neo-liberal government. Theoretically speaking, it constitutes an incentive for individual endeavour, striving and competition. As Lazzarato (2009, p. 117) puts it: ‘appetites and instincts are not given: only inequality has the capacity to sharpen appetites, instincts and minds, driving individuals to rivalries’, although, as Ball (2013, p. 134) elaborates, ‘market theorists, like Hayek, argue that these instincts are “natural”’. Attempts to alleviate inequalities – which had been pursued, to some degree, in the politics of redistribution (in terms of both money and social property) characteristic of the governing of the state of welfare – are viewed by the neo-liberals as counter-productive and counter-intuitive as it is only within such an environment that the individual (and the organisation) is driven to self-maximisation (rather than dependency and inefficiency). The principle of *financialization* is also relevant here as its effects have been responsible, amongst other things, for widening social and economic inequalities, enacted via a shifting of the tax burden ‘away from corporations towards individual wage earners’ (Peters, 2001a, p. 59) and a ‘reprivatization of money and a critique of anything (such as the New Deal) that encroaches on the “sovereignty of money”’ (Dean, 2013, p. 218).

Although Teach First is a social enterprise which aims to tackle educational disadvantage, alleviating broader structural inequalities is not one of its objectives: such a mission would be antithetical to the dominant mode of thought which constrains its practices, and its solicitations of the common-sense and the necessary. As I have already suggested, there is a fundamental difference between addressing disadvantage and *advantage*. In fact, Teach First *secures* the principle of inequality by anticipating and soliciting the *new homo œconomicus*, that is, the human kind formed in the image of the competitive market. The *archetypal Teach First participant* – as solicited in various immaterial practices, and also as evident in the accounts of the participants themselves – is, in part at least, ‘a calculating, solipsistic, instrumentally

driven, “enterprise man” (Ball, 2013, p. 132), and a good neo-liberal subject of risk. Moreover, the performative strategy of the organisation is in part about rendering the populations upon which it intervenes *more competitive* (also see Part 3). In this sense, Teach First aligns the conducts of the governed (the citizen, the teacher, the disadvantaged child) with conditions of inequality, within which each and all are considered to be (and must consider themselves to be) in states and relations of ‘equal inequality’, as Foucault identified in the thought of the ordo-liberals. Having said that, however, there are still divergences between the ways in which Teach First intervenes upon its teachers and its ‘target populations’, the latter of which I look at, amongst other things, in the next chapter.

The principle of *insecurity*, moreover, serves to intensify and augment the state of inequality. To put it simply, as the state retracts and transforms its mechanisms of social security – the shift, for example, from ‘welfare to workfare’, the *individualisation/financialization* of work and state pensions, the breaking up of collective solidarities (including the professions) and the related undermining of secure and long-term employment – the individual is made increasingly responsible for their own protection and survival. As Ball (2013, p. 134) puts it, ‘insecurity is the basis for both responsibility and enterprise. We must take responsibility for our own needs and for our own well-being ... we can no longer rely on the state’.

The outcomes of the transformation in the regime of accumulation [- the shift from industrial-managerial to post-industrial-shareholding capitalism -] include the asymmetrical effects of financialization and new forms of inequality, the necessary and functional growth of insecurity and ‘precarity’ among wage earners and the monetarization of state administration. The latter has two goals: to implicate employees, via their pension funds, in the regulation of social expenditures and to prevent alliances between employees and beneficiaries of social services.

(Dean, 2013, pp. 218-29)

As I have tried to illustrate, the Teach First experience is itself a precarious kind of encounter (‘risky’, limited preparation and training, ‘lack of support’). It is an ‘extreme’ form of teaching compared to a ‘bungee jump’. The ‘jump’ may consume one with fear and trepidation ‘down to every nerve and sinew’, but, as I come back to, it may also fulfil one’s thrill-seeking disposition, and lead to ‘exhilaration’, ‘delight’ and a sense of ‘pride’.

In terms of the former, Teach First solicits, stimulates and secures fear and insecurity, both in terms of the participants' conditions of contract (employment based training; performative promise), and by articulating dangers associated with the 'challenging school' and uncertain futures (i.e. through affective technologies like the Summer Institute, the mission, the emotive videos, vital statistics, etc.). As I explore further in **Part 3**, the organisation solicits the fears of the governed in relation to the *indispositional* conducts of the poor and threats to the vitality of the liberal way of life. Indeed, we saw in the opening chapter how the delegates at *Challenge 2012* were made subject to dominant policy discourses, and the truth-claims of expertise and experts – including the 'gap talk', econometrics and 'business speak' – which manifested and re-affirmed the 'already said' (Foucault, 1972, p. 25) of contemporary global and performative education policy. These truths and discourses served to stimulate an affective response in associating education so starkly with the (in)securities and (present and future) vitality of the economy. The delegates were also made privy and subject to a wider, globalised world of fear, (dis)belief and (un)certainly, a world that was at once familiar and progressive, problematic and pathological, secure and insecure (i.e. the conference as an affective technology of government).

Teach First therefore in some ways 'introduce[s] degrees of insecurity, instability, uncertainty ... and existential precarity into the lives of individuals' (Lazzarato, 2009, p. 119), and thus evinces and secures something of the 'affective basis' of neo-liberal government. As Ball (2013, p. 134) notes: 'We are made fearful and therefore active ... Our emotions are linked to the economy through our anxieties and our concomitant self-management ... [T]he state becomes the site of minimal provision and last resort'. This is what Lazzarato (2009, p. 120) calls a 'micro-politics of little fears' which forms the underside of a 'major organised molar security' (see **Part 3**). Of course, 'It is not the same insecurity for everyone whatever the level and conditions of employment, yet a differential of fear runs along the whole continuum' (Lazzarato, *ibid*, p. 120). As Gilson (2013, p. 115) argues, 'given that the demands of the market are unpredictable and continually changing, being a good-enough entrepreneurial subject entails constant awareness that one is never good enough and must also be increasing, maximizing, and developing one's capacities'. Importantly for the case of the *archetypal Teach First participant*, as Gilson (*ibid*, p. 115) continues, '[e]ven for

the most aspirational of entrepreneurial subjects, the dangers that accompanies neo-liberalism inculcates a sense of insecurity', and I have tried to give some examples of this through the voices and experiences of the subjects of the research.

Everyday fear, Foucault argues, is the correlate of neo-liberal freedom. Neo-liberalism defines freedom as the right of individuals to act according to their personal interest, as rationally indexed to the needs and opportunities of the market economy that sustains them ... The market as a self-regulating system is metastable: it achieves provisional equilibrium, within limits and between thresholds, dogged at each step by conflicts of interests, irrationalities, and deviances, little dangers that might suddenly combine weights and tip the system into chaos.

(Massumi, 2005, pp. 1-2)

Indeed, problematizations of *government* and *security* in liberal regimes of rule are underpinned by a more general affective basis, and also involve a great deal of affective labour. The 'war on terror' (a quintessential problematization of liberal security) and 'performativity' (a quintessential form of neo-liberal governmentality) are forms of government which are both rendered effective through the activation of the governed, and that is through their senses: their fears, perceptions and (in)securities of and in everyday work and life. Importantly, these fears are produced and secured by civil society, or by the liberal police (I tackle the security aspect in more detail in Part 3). As Bell (2007, p. 62) notes, 'fear is not merely reflected but is also *produced* and *reproduced* by civil society. This is to say, the security moms ... are themselves invested in fear and so reproduce it in their communities and children and so forth'. Foucault's (2010, p. 66) point is particularly apposite here:

[W]e can say that the motto of liberalism is: "Live dangerously." "Live dangerously", that is to say, individuals are constantly exposed to danger, or rather, they are conditioned to experience their situation, their life, their present, and their future as containing danger. I think this kind of stimulus of danger will be one of the major implications of liberalism.

But the fear and uncertainty associated with the Teach First experience, where 'realising what you don't know is a strangely motivating force', also offers the possibility to succeed or to survive an experience or an encounter where others (including friends, colleagues) have struggled, failed or defaulted. Insecurity thus interacts with the principles of *individualization* and *depoliticization*: the determination to keep going, the delight when one hasn't wilted or perished in the

brutality of the encounter, and the will to go again and, perhaps, to go with more certainty and to do it even better. This is the *Damoclesian* angst and precarity of performativity, its tendency to promote *individualization* and *depoliticization*, and the material and affective opportunities it presents for *self-investment* and *self-valorisation*. The programme and its associated terrors and thrills also offer personal opportunities for investments in the self, which is another aspect of enterprise. Performativity is a quintessential technology of affective government, where one's governing concern is with, as we saw earlier, 'doing well for myself, my school and the programme'. Whilst performativity 'is enacted through measures and targets against which we are expected to position ourselves but often in ways that also produce uncertainties about how we should organise ourselves within our work' (Ball, 2012, p. 31), perhaps the *affective activation* of the Teach First participant is a *vital technology* which in some ways securitises these insecurities ('it has given me security'). These affective technologies work to appropriate, maintain and valorise the productive capacities of the participant – their 'willing', 'passionate' and 'active' minds and bodies – towards the fulfilment of organisational (performative) objectives and, of course, the objectives of the state. The participant overcomes the 'micro-fears' associated with performance, the economy and 'risky teaching' through their own striving and aspirations ('pushing on through it'), their strong sense of the certainty and of the rightness (or righteousness) of what they are doing, and hence also through their affiliation with the mission and their identifications with the other participants and the archetypal form ('a collective aspiration'). This affective, individualised and depoliticized form of identification perhaps serves to subvert the possibilities for a more collective identification and sense of 'shared vulnerability' (Gilson, 2013, p. 115) with the teaching profession more generally ('not just you in your classroom, in your school, but like you're part of a collective group of people') and delimits the possibilities for alternative modes of thinking and practice. The affective technologies which Teach First deploys thus in some ways serve to secure the 'methods and terrors' of performativity within the education state. As Ball (2013, p. 134) argues, 'depoliticization acts in parallel to [insecurity], sometimes rendering collective conditions of experience into personal problems, sometimes displacing political and economic decisions into individual failings and responsibilities'.

At the same time, as active and transformational subjects of educational reform, the participants are to spread the word of this neo-liberal normativity, to proselytize on this (individualised, depoliticized and instrumental) neo-liberal relation to self and others. They are molecular neo-liberal subjects who strive in conditions of insecurity and inequality, who 'go above and beyond expectations' and who can achieve – in the words of the title to Brett Wigdortz's book – 'success against the odds' (2012). The participants embody the aesthetics of the Teach First world – its visions of the good life and of the necessary and the sensible – and are tasked with the duty of enlightening others of the fruits of its gospel. They are also tasked with 'inculcating' this aesthetics and its undergirding principles into their schools, their classrooms and their students, as we will see again in **Part 3**:

And I also think it's very interesting in terms of psychologically the self-talk that can lead to outcomes in that – I don't know if they have a massively high retention rate – but they do have a high rate of teachers going onto promotion and, you know, I'm sure there are other factors in that including how people perceive Teach Firsters, and a large number of teachers who become outstanding teachers and I think a lot of that is self-talk and I think that's an interesting moral as a teacher when your job is to motivate children to push themselves as hard as they can go, to do things they don't believe they can do, to have aspirations beyond aspirations they currently hold for themselves. I think it's an interesting testament to self-talk. And in that way *it kind of models what they want you to achieve in the classroom in that it models the creation of an ethos, of a team spirit, of a collective aspiration which they then I suppose expect you to inculcate initially in your classroom and then in your school.*

(Kim, participant, interview)

I have already pointed up some of the implications of the principle of *financialization* and how it interrelates with some of the other components of the signature. Perhaps most significantly for my present concerns, however, is that the participants embody and perform an aesthetics which is conducive for capital (and performative) accumulation. This is to say that the archetypal form and profile of the Teach First participant,

allows us to understand the role of capitalization as one of the techniques in the transformation of the worker into 'human capital' in charge of his/her own efforts to manage him/herself according to the logic of the market ...

Capitalization is consistent with the view that the individuals function, as a molecular fraction of capital, is not that of ensuring the profitability of labour

but the profitability of capital as a whole. The individual becomes a 'capital competence', a 'machine-competence'; he or she cannot become the new *homo æconomicus* without being 'a lifestyle', a 'way of being', a moral choice, a 'mode of relating to oneself, to time, to one's environment, to the future, the group, the family'.

(Lazzarato, 2009, p. 121, citing Foucault, 2004, p. 271)

Part Three: Vitality

Fabrications and Machinations: The Teach First problem-space of government

[I]n reality one has a triangle, sovereignty-discipline-government, which has as its primary target the population and as its essential mechanism the apparatuses of security.

(Foucault, 1992, p. 102)

In this third and final part of the thesis, again comprising two chapters, I explore Teach First in relation to bio-power and sovereignty, that is, the ‘powers of life and death’ (Dean, 2010, p. 91). This will involve thinking more directly about Teach First as a *dispositif of security*, about which I made some initial comments in the previous chapter, and include examining the discursive and substantive work that the enterprise does on the ‘urban problem’, and especially *the disadvantaged child*. I also want to think again about the micro-politics of Teach First by critically applying and interrogating the concept of *vital politics* (Rose, 2007). This molecular form of bio-politics concerns itself with and is implicated in the cultivation and propagation (and animation) of *vital life-forms*, and sovereign arbitration over their suitability and exceptions. This vital arbitration is exercised at the level of life and the living, including and especially at the level of subjectivity, ethics and culture, and also of the *body*.

The overarching objective of this part of the thesis, then, is to explore problems, processes and technologies of *vitality*. To be *vital* is to be ‘absolutely necessary; essential’. It refers to something that is ‘indispensable to the continuance of life’, and even, in an archaic sense, to be ‘fatal’ (Oxford English Dictionary Online). *Vitality*, moreover, refers to ‘the state of being strong and active’, or to ‘the power giving continuance of life, present in all living things’ (Oxford English Dictionary Online). It can also simply mean the ‘power to survive’ (Free Dictionary Online). To think about government and education policy in vital terms is therefore to take into consideration matters of life – its administration and cultivation – and death. ‘Power, Foucault argues, is now situated and exercised at the level of life’ (Rabinow and Rose, 2006, p. 196). I want to suggest, in different ways, that there is a novel kind of ‘vitalism’ to

contemporary government and policy (and capitalism), a particular form of which can be observed in the *dispositivity* of Teach First. Importantly, this ‘vitalism’ is imagined, articulated and constrained – at both the molar and molecular levels⁶⁶ – in and through the heady mix of the sovereignty-discipline-government triad.

This particular chapter is organised into two parts. Firstly, I examine the notion of bio-power and its relationship to liberalism, sovereignty and the government of the state. I did this broadly in **Part 1**; however it will be useful to remind ourselves of some key terms and events, and also to develop things a little and to refine some analytical and conceptual instruments. For example, one of the things that I want to do is to make a case for ‘rearticulating the concept of bio-politics from within an analytics of government’ (Lemke, 2009, p. 9). On the one hand, this will be to demonstrate, as Lemke continues, that ‘bio-politics does not only include the physical being, but also its moral and political existence’ (ibid, p. 9), and on the other, to underline some of the relationships and tensions between bio-power, sovereignty and economic government (liberalism). I also look in more detail at the mechanics of bio-power, drawing particular attention to its individualising (disciplinary) and totalising (regulatory) instruments, objectives and effects.

The second part of this chapter is more empirical, and investigates what I call the *Teach First problem-space of government*. This is a bio-political and governmental site which centres on the ‘urban problem’ as the object of its practices and problematizations, and one which manifests a ‘demonic coupling’ of pastoral and sovereign powers under the auspices of a neo-liberal political rationality. I will demonstrate how the Teach First problem-space, or micro-sector of government, evinces and enacts enterprise – both discursively and substantively – as a solution to a typical bio-political problem and fabrication of (neo-) liberal government: a security threat in the form of a perceived lack of actual or potential capacity for (present and future) responsible self-government among sections of the population.

⁶⁶ The molar and molecular here refer to different ‘spatial scales’, or between ‘micro-properties and macro-properties’ (DeLanda, 2008, p. 165). This can mean, on the one hand, the macro-institutional or material framework/disposition, and on the other, the micro-level of, for instance, individual parts and subjectivity. However, these scales are not mutually exclusive and ‘can operate at multiple scales simultaneously’ (DeLanda, ibid, p. 165).

Teach First is one of an array of agencies contracted to ‘manage’ this problem, and receives, as already noted, political and economic support in return for its epistemological and technical resources. The organisation presents and solicits this problem, as I will show, as an issue concerning the vitality of the *disadvantaged child* (and society, the population or ‘the city’ more generally). This includes their material conditions of disadvantage, but also their present and future conduct and their *aspirations*, that is, ‘their habits, disposition and character’ (Dean, 2007, p. 190). Furthermore, we have already seen how Teach First articulates the still dominant but now well-worn policy discourse of standards, and how it transacts and is subject to technologies of performativity. Here I will develop things by suggesting that there is a bio-political dimension to these transactions, evident, for example, in the *bio-performativity* of the achievement gap discourse (and the molecular politics of the teacher – see next chapter).

Teach First does not ‘invent’ these problems and the apparently novel solutions it proposes and enacts, nor does it act alone: ‘power relations’, Foucault argues, are both ‘intentional and non-subjective’ (Foucault, 1998, p. 96). Rather, Teach First is constituted by and operates within a wider field of bio-political and governmental force relations (see below). It is just one of a number of *dispositifs of security* which ‘aim[...] at the mass phenomena characteristic of a population and its conditions of variation [and] ... to prevent or compensate for dangers and risks that result from the existence of a population as a biological entity’ (Lemke, 2011, p. 37). As I will indicate both here and in the next chapter, Teach First draws upon a variety of current ‘techniques’, discourses and practices which predate but are available to it. By analysing Teach First as a complex iteration of bio-politics, government and sovereignty, I therefore want to explore how ‘an issue or social phenomenon’ – in this instance *educational disadvantage* – ‘is framed as a problem in need of political intervention’ (Triantafillou, 2012, p. 20). In particular, I will underline how bio-political problems concerning the health and vitality of the state population (i.e., the conduct of the *disadvantaged child*), are rationalised in accordance with governmental practice. This is not so surprising when one considers, as Foucault does, that bio-political ‘problems [are] inseparable from the framework of political rationality within which they appear[...]’ (2010, p. 317).

I will also attend, at different points, to the pastoral power relationship as manifest in the bio-politics of Teach First. This will be to investigate further the Teach First teacher as an agent of the secular political pastorate, and also to think again, as I do in the next chapter, about Teach First as a technology of the self. In terms of the latter, rather than ‘merely’ an economic or governmental technology, I will emphasise how Teach First is a bio-political technology of the self, or *vital technology*, whereby individuals and collectives are incited and given choices and opportunities to work on and optimize themselves as particular kinds of healthy, moral and economic subjects, citizens and teachers, at the same time as making an active and responsible contribution to the health and vitality of others, and thus the health and vitality of the population, the state and its sovereignty, and the liberal way of life. It is in this sense, moreover, that we will be able to consider Teach First as a sovereign arbiter – a ‘petty sovereign’ as Butler puts it (2006, p. 65) – of the ‘good life’ which secures the ‘ethical despotism’ (Dean, 2002a, p. 46) inscribed into the very heart and foundations of the liberal arts of government (see below).

In the analyses which follow, I again draw upon a range of sources, such as documentary and website material. I will also refer back to the ethnography of *Challenge 2012*, including the words of some of those entrusted there to speak the truth.

Bio-power

In **Part 1** I explored how the emergence and crystallization of a liberal art of government – indeed, of the modern state – was in part coterminous with the ‘discovery’ of regularities, processes and phenomena considered external to the state and beyond the transparent knowledge of the sovereign. This included the discovery of population and phenomena characteristic of it, along with a plethora of other supposedly quasi-autonomous domains and processes, be they of society, the social, the economic, biological or psychological (Dean, 2010). Initially this epistemological eruption was dependent upon, and attributable to, the ‘intellectual instruments’ and technologies of political economy, which were in fact vital to the objectives and practices of the police states governed under the logic of *raison d’Etat*. The science of statistics – as both an instrument and discipline – was particularly germane, and it is interesting to note that the word ‘statistics’ literally translates as ‘state numbers’,

indicating its insinuation in the emergence and governance of the modern state, and its function as a conduit and technology for a 'massifying' state power which 'establishes its dominion' over life (Foucault, 1998, p. 138).

Over the course of the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, the knowledges and truths of political economy were joined by the emergent disciplines of the human and life sciences: sociology, psychology, public policy/health, epidemiology, biology. These disciplines and their experts (those entrusted to speak the truth), expertise and authority were a condition for liberal government, and in some instances, particularly over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a source of its critique and transformation. At the same time, these forms of knowledge were and continue to be characterised – in their enfolding and codification within liberal arts of government – by an authoritarian potential. That is to say, as I come back to below, if 'liberal forms of governing necessarily entail forms of categorization of subjects that provide it with subject or dependent populations who simply cannot, or cannot yet, be governed through freedom' (Dean, 2007, p. 118), it is the knowledge both of and from civil society which enables and establishes these categorizations and norms which can then be codified and, in some instances, enforced (by the state, either directly or indirectly, i.e., by delegating authority).

One particularly apposite example of this is the 'ethical despotism' inscribed into the heart of the liberal arts of government. This is informed, at least in part, by psychological truths pertaining to 'habit' (Valverde, 1996). As a form of government premised upon the (sovereign) freedom of the individual subject of rights, liberalism faces a problem when it comes to intervening into the lives of its subjects. How can this be justified, given that it is the art of not governing too much? Simply speaking, liberalism can justify illiberal and authoritarian (including sovereign, bio-political and disciplinary) interventions into those sections of the population and those individuals deemed to lack the necessary faculties of and for responsible self-government. Crucially, however, this division – or dividing practice – between the rule and the exception, or for example between those who can demonstrate the requisite comportments and moral/economic dispositions, and those who cannot, cannot yet, or will not, is preceded by the *internal division* of the foundational liberal subject, who is vulnerable, so the argument goes, to the passions and 'habits' of the mind. The good liberal citizen is 'divided against him or herself in so far as the condition of a mature

and responsible use of freedom entails a domination of aspects of the self' (Dean, 2010, p. 156). Again this relates back to Christian pastoralism and confessional practices. The 'ethical despotism' of the liberal arts of government is thus two-pronged, and premised upon psychological, and evolutionary (Hindess, 2001) ideas, theories and objectives of improvement, the responsibility for which falls upon the self and authorised others. Foucault (1982, p. 208) puts this accordingly:

The subject is either divided inside himself or divided from others. This process objectivises him. Examples are the mad and the sane, the sick and the healthy, the criminals and the 'good boys'.

Colonialism and Imperialism, Nazism and various practices, programmes and theories of eugenics are also examples of the way illiberal practices are premised upon improvement (either of the individual, the population, the 'race', 'the fatherland'). I will come back to this below by exploring the dividing practices evident in the Teach First problem-space, including what I call the 'negative image'⁶⁷ imprinted by the *disadvantaged child* and the *archetypal participant*.

It is worth emphasising here, however, that the liberal view of the discovery of an 'organic' nature to civil society, including its different processes, norms and 'forms of life' (see next chapter), fails to recognise that these domains and processes are themselves bound up with and inseparable from the different forms of knowledge and governmental practices/rationalities which are brought to bear upon their discovery, representation, management and regulation (Dean, 2010). This is what one might call the Janus-Faced logic and self-understanding of liberalism. Lemke (2011, pp. 5-6) argues:

The ambivalent political figure 'population' plays a decisive role in this process. On the one hand, population represents a collective reality that is not dependent on political intervention but is characterized by its own dynamics and modes of self-regulation; this autonomy, on the other hand, does not imply an absolute limit to political intervention but is, on the contrary, the privileged reference of those interventions. The discovery of a "nature" of the population (e.g., rates of birth and death, diseases, etc.) that might be influenced by specific incentives and measures is the precondition for directing and managing it.

⁶⁷ In the photographic sense.

Koopman (2014, p. 103) emphasizes this point by noting that bio-politics is ‘an inherently informational politics’, which is to say that population, the key object and target of bio-political intervention, is only intelligible once it has been brought into the gaze of knowledge and calculation. It is for this reason that ‘population is a concept that can be elaborated only through statistical, therefore informational, techniques’ (ibid, p. 102), and is hence a form of ‘informational’ fabrication.

Having rehearsed and developed some earlier genealogical themes, I will now offer a more nuanced but necessarily still limited account of bio-power. Firstly, I distinguish between bio-power and bio-politics, and then take a closer look at some of the mechanics, objects and subjects of the bio-political.

Bio-power/bio-politics

To put it simply, *bio-power* is ‘more a perspective than a concept’ (Rose, 2007, p. 54), and refers very broadly to a power which ‘seizes life as the object of its exercise’ (Lazzarato, 2006, p. 9). It designates a ‘field of view’ which encompasses various, more or less rationalized, operations which serve to intervene into the vitality of human populations and their vital existences (Rabinow and Rose, 2006). More specifically, bio-power refers to ‘the endeavour, begun in the eighteenth century, to rationalize problems presented to governmental practice by the phenomena characteristic of a group of living beings constituted as a population: health, sanitation, birthrate, longevity, race’ (Foucault, 1997, pg. 73). Nadesan (2011, pg. 8) adds that bio-power is ‘Impelled by the exigencies of governing modern life, [and] refers to knowledge and strategies of power that aim at governing a population’s life forces’.

Bio-politics, on the other hand, refers to the divergent political contestations over the administration and limitation of this power which is exercised over and in the name of life. Whilst the domain of the bio-political is always ‘fragmented’ and ‘contested’, ‘the birth of bio-politics gave a kind of “vitalist” character to the existence of individuals as political subjects’ (Rose, pg. 54), and therefore ‘embrace[s] all the specific strategies and contestations over problematizations of collective human vitality, morbidity and mortality; over the forms of knowledge, regimes of authority and practices of intervention that are desirable, legitimate and efficacious’ (Rose,

2006, pg. 197). It is in this sense that one can consider, for example, liberalism, social liberalism and neo-liberalism as forms of bio-politics. Perhaps more accurately, one can say that these liberal rationalities of rule articulate and configure bio-power as more or less related but divergent and contested forms of bio-politics. These configurations, moreover, are characterised, fixed and (de)limited by other modalities of power, including sovereignty and governmentality. Dean (2010, pg. 121) qualifies that ‘all “modern” forms of the government of the state need to be understood as attempting to articulate a bio-politics aimed at enhancing the lives of a population through the application of the norm, with the elements of a transformed sovereignty that targets subjects within a territory and whose instrument is the law’.

Having said this, I should underline that bio-power, and also discipline, pose threats to both the programmatic frugality of liberal government, and the sovereignty of the ‘free’ liberal subject of rights. There is a reciprocal dialogue yet permanent tension between liberal forms of government and the sovereign and bio-political powers of life and death. ‘This is why, for liberalism, the problem will be not a rejection of bio-political regulation *but a way of managing it*’ (Dean, *ibid*, pg. 121, *my italics*). The Teach First problem-space that I look at below evinces a particular kind of optimizing (and constraining) bio-politics, and encloses and fixes a normalizing gaze over sections of the population, some of which are identified as incapable of self-management: disadvantaged communities, Teach First schools, *the disadvantaged child* (and also teacher populations – see next chapter). As I will develop below, the problem-space is characterised by a bio-political art of economic government which is bound up with a critique of the welfare state, its associated bio-politics, and its perceived complicity in the eruption of *indispositionality*, pathology or morbidity, such as welfare dependency or, more fundamentally, *illiberality*. It is in this way that Teach First – as a *dispositif of security* – paradoxically and perhaps counterintuitively serves to (de)limit and consume the possibilities of bio-power and the bio-political, at the same time as articulating a bio-political art of government.

Liberalism should be approached here as a critique not only of earlier forms of government, such as police and reason of state, but also of existing and potential forms of bio-political government. This is to say that liberalism criticizes other possible forms that the government of processes might take.

(Dean, 2010, p. 120)

Mechanics, objects, subjects

Foucault (1998) argued that by the eighteenth century this power over and in the name of life ‘evolved in two basic forms’ (p. 139): an *anatomo-politics* of the body, and a *bio-politics* of the population. This ‘bi-polar technology’, as he called it, ‘constituted the two poles around which the organization of power over life was deployed’, and functioned, in different ways, ‘to invest life through and through’ (p. 139). Foucault introduces this new ‘productive’ conception of power – ‘whose highest function was perhaps no longer to kill’ (p. 139) – as a critique of the ‘subtractive’ and what he called ‘juridico-discursive’ model of power, or sovereignty. This is not to say that bio-power is devoid of subtractive and destructive (and we should say sovereign) potential (genocide, nationalism, forced sterilisations, ethnic cleansing, workfare, for instance). However, what is perhaps novel here – and what characterises the partial displacement of sovereignty into bio-politics – is that the termination of life often ‘presents itself as the counterpart of a power that exerts a positive influence on life, that endeavours to administer, optimize, and multiply it, subjecting it to precise controls and comprehensive regulations’ (Foucault, *ibid*, p. 137). That is to say, in part at least, that the destructive potential of bio-power forms the ‘underside’, as Foucault puts it, to its optimizing and affirmative potential: ‘Massacres’, Foucault argues, ‘have become vital’ (p. 137). Dean neatly adds that ‘Although the bio-political imperative does not account for all that bedevils liberal-democratic states, it is remarkable how much of what is done of an illiberal character is done with the best of bio-political intentions’ (2001, p. 51).

‘Deduction’ has tended to be no longer the major form of power but merely one element among others, working to incite, reinforce, control, monitor, optimize, and organise the forces under it: a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, making them submit or destroying them.

(Foucault, 1998, p. 136)

Anatomo-politics focuses on the individual body ‘as a machine’ (Foucault, *ibid*, p. 139), ‘seeking to maximize its forces and integrate it into efficient systems’ (Rabinow and Rose, 2006, p. 196). It involves techniques and technologies of power that act directly upon individual bodies and their actions, in part in order to ‘discipline and/or normalize their comportment towards the ends of state security and capital

accumulation' (Nadesan, 2008, p. 8). This is disciplinary power and its individualising practices and effects, historically articulated, distributed and disseminated through an archipelago or *dispositif* of disciplinary institutions and practices – schools, universities, hospitals, factories, asylums, the military. Discipline is 'very roughly that which has been said a thousand times' (Foucault, 2007, p. 56). It is *normalising*, 'it breaks down individuals, places, time, movements, actions and operations. It breaks them down into components such that they can be seen, on the one hand, and modified on the other' (Foucault, *ibid*, p. 86).

According to Foucault, this disciplinary *dispositif*, and the bi-polar technology more generally, served, at least in part, the needs of capitalism, and 'was without question an indispensable element in [its] development' (Foucault, 1998, pp. 140-141). Discipline, for example, proved a desirable and useful solution to the 'urgent need' of both fixing and augmenting the productivity of labour during the industrial revolution (*ibid*, p. 141). It served the demands of industrial capitalism by producing useful and docile subjects, and it is interesting to note, as Jessop does, that 'disciplinary normalization initially focused on the conduct of persons who were not directly involved in capitalist production (e.g., in asylums, prisons, schools, barracks)'. Indeed, Lazzarato (2006, p. 9) makes the point that Foucault 'demonstrated that the "introduction of life into history" corresponds with the rise of capitalism'.

Society's control over individuals was accomplished not only through consciousness or ideology but also in the body and with the body. For capitalist society, it was bio-politics, the biological, the corporal, that mattered more than anything else.

(Foucault, 2000, p. 137)

The second pole, *bio-politics*, 'formed somewhat later' (Foucault, 1998, p. 139) and concerns the regulation of the social body and the population. Whilst it is not exclusive of discipline, it focuses 'on the species body', that is 'the body imbued with the mechanics of life and serving as the basis of the biological processes: propagation, births and mortality, the level of health, life expectancy and longevity, with all the conditions that can cause these to vary' (Foucault, *ibid*, p. 139). Bio-politics, then, does not concern itself with individuals so much as aggregations and averages – it 'is "globalising" rather than individualizing' (Ball, 2013, p. 45). That is to say that it is not individuals who form the object and target of bio-politics, but the aggregated

biological features of individuals indexed at the level of the population, as noted earlier. 'As a result, "life" has become an independent, objective, and measurable factor, as well as a collective reality that can be epistemologically and practically separated from concrete living beings and the singularity of individual experience' (Lemke, 2011, p. 5).

The techniques and politics of bio-power are regulatory. They are implicated in what Stoler (1995, p. 82) calls the 'bio-regulation of the state', and are 'concerned with the internal dangers to society at large' (Ball, 2013, p. 45). They 'take into account "phenomena that are aleatory and unpredictable when taken in themselves or individually" but which collectively form certain patterns which can be known and acted upon' (Dean, 2013, p. 36, citing Foucault, 2003, p. 246).

The mechanisms of this bio-power are hence 'forecasts, statistical estimates and overall measures'. Their purpose is not to modify the behaviour of any given individual but to intervene at the level of the generality of a population so that one, for example, can act to lower the mortality rate, try to change the birth rate, improve life expectancy and so on.

(Dean, 2013, p. 36, citing Foucault, 2003, p. 246)

This is the problematic of *security*, which takes different forms and is directed towards myriad different problems (and the school is just one site of security where discipline and regulation are imbedded within one another). Broadly speaking, however, security concerns matters of disorder and its management, and existential threats to life and the sovereignty of the state (Dean, 2007, pg. 191). It includes the management of various contingencies and exigencies, such as 'how the state deals with unpredictable events, how it evaluates and calculates the costs and consequences, and how it manages populations within constraint, rather than through [– or in conjunction with –] the imposition of rule' (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2006, pp. 25-26).

Whilst bio-politics concerns itself with 'matters of life and death', then, such as the birth-rate, physical and mental health, and the various factors which impede or optimize life and vitality, it is not simply biological and medical. To be sure, cultural, moral and sociological variables also enter bio-political thinking and practice through, for example, the human and psy sciences (as above) and other agencies of the liberal police. As is particularly evident in the neo-liberal present, this includes police

agencies of the market (i.e. Teach First and its 'friends'). In other words, whilst the domains and knowledges of bio-politics can concern the pathology and vitality of the biological and medical body (issues of disease, public sanitation, etc.), they can also refer to the social, cultural, moral and economic body – what Dean (2010) calls 'bio-economic' and 'bio-sociological' forms of knowledge and problematization. It is in this sense that

Bio-politics must then also concern the social, cultural, environmental, economic and geographic conditions under which humans live, procreate, become ill, maintain health or become healthy, and die. From this perspective bio-politics is concerned with the family, with housing, living and working conditions, with what we call 'lifestyle', with public health issues, patterns of migration, levels of economic growth and the standards of living.

(Dean, 2010, p. 119)

One current example of this is the problematization of parenting. Regularities like 'positive parenting' are, for instance, articulated over and against its unspoken 'other': the 'bad parent', the 'problematic family'. The Allen Report (2011), for instance, implores the economic and social necessities of intervening into troublesome families and 'the wrong type of parenting' (xiii), in the hope that the affected children of these families 'will become the better parents of tomorrow' (xi). 'Early intervention' into these problematic families and children will, the report argues,

make lasting improvements in the lives of our children, to forestall many persistent social problems and end their transmission from one generation to the next, and to make long-term savings in public spending ... Getting this wrong has impacts way beyond the individual and family concerned: every taxpayer pays the cost of low educational achievement, poor work aspirations, drink and drug misuses, teenage pregnancy, criminality and unfulfilled lifetimes on benefits.

(pp. vii-ix)

To an extent, this is a reiteration of eugenics in cultural form, where 'bad parenting' is evoked to 'explain' patterns of (under-) achievement and (lack of) aspiration, what the post-war British sociologist, Jean Floud, called the 'educogene' (see Ball, 2013, p. 92). Ball notes:

A new iteration of degeneracy comes into view in relation to the pathological family, the abnormal family, set in direct contrast to what Musgrove quite simply called “the good home”. There emerged two key elements to this pathology, one a failure of discipline and the other a failure of aspiration. The failures of the family are passed on as a form of heredity, as outlined by Burt, in “cycles of disadvantage”.

(2013, pp. 91-92, citing Musgrove, 1970, and citing Burt, 1937)

The objects, domains and objectives of the bio-political, and the knowledges and expertise which inform their scrutiny and management, are hence diverse and lend themselves to, and have emerged historically as a result of, political struggle. Indeed, attempts ‘to find an accommodation between the phenomena of population and “bio-sociological” processes, will lead to complex organs of political coordination and centralization’ (Dean, 2010, p. 119), of which the welfare state is one prominent example. Another is the configuration of a post-welfare state as a form of ‘neoliberal bio-politics’ (Cooper, 2008, p. 13), as I look at in relation to Teach First below and in the next chapter. Nonetheless, whether rationalised and managed within the logic of a social form of government, or a form of government which models itself upon the market, bio-politics is evident, as I touched on earlier, in the identification, classification, monitoring and distribution (and hence fabrication) of human kinds and vital/fatal existences. As will be evident in the data I present below, it is this tendency which has informed the identification and problematization of *indispositional* groups and individuals within the population. This includes ‘the criminal and dangerous classes, the feeble-minded and the imbecile, the invert and the degenerate, the unemployable and the abnormal, and to attempts to prevent, contain or eliminate them’ (Dean, 2010, p. 119). It is in this way, moreover, that bio-politics (and sovereignty) – and the management of the *Teach First problem-space* – is implicated in and manifests visions of the ‘good life’ and images of good liberal ‘autonomous’ citizenship, their security and securitisation, and again I tackle this both below and in the next chapter. It is significant in this regard that Graham Allen, the Chair of the Allen report just noted, co-wrote a book/report with Iain Duncan Smith entitled *Good Parents, Great Kids, Better Citizens* (2009).

It is important to add here that the *archetypal Teach First participant*, the aesthetics and profile of which I outlined, illustrated and examined in the previous chapter, is not simply an organic ‘form of life’ amongst others, discovered, advocated and solicited by the liberal police. Rather, this archetypal form is a complex ‘fabrication’ (Popkewitz, 2013) formed historically and in the present within multiple relations of force and constraint. One aspect of this is what one could call ‘dispositional confrontation’, or ‘bio-agonism’. That is, the carving of dispositional frames from ‘states of exception’ (Dean, 2007) – a form of sovereign arbitration – or from *indispositionalities* which pose negative but productive frames of reference for the virtues and dispositions of the ‘good life’. This is the reciprocal and mutually constitutive interplay between the exception and the rule, between the normal and the pathological, the liberal and the illiberal; and hence the crucial role of techniques of division and exclusion in the production and repositioning of the normal, and the proliferation of discourses around abnormality. Dean (2007, p. 121) suggests that rather than the ‘autonomous individual’ being ‘the rule to which the exclusions form practical exceptions ... the reverse is in fact the case’. That is to say,

the liberal norm of the autonomous individual is a figure carved out of the substantive forms of life that are only known through these exceptions, for example insufficient education, poor character, welfare dependency, statelessness, underdeveloped human capital, absence of spirit of improvement, lack of social capital, absence of citizenship of civilised state, inadequate methods of labour and cultivation, and so on.

(ibid, p. 121)

I return to this below in examining the ‘double gesture’ (Popkewitz, 2013) of the Teach First problem-space. That is, how the archetypal Teach First participant and the *disadvantaged child* imprint a *negative image* in which the two appear as each other’s inverse. My particular focus is on how the object of intervention – the *disadvantaged child* – is problematized in terms of a vital and moral deficiency, and a projected *indispositional future*. It is in this way that we will get a sense of how ‘The normal frame of life would often seem to be nothing more than a kind of residue of the mass of exceptions’ (Dean, 2007, p. 190) – a point which rearticulates Foucault’s (1998) argument in the History of Sexuality around the constitution of ‘normal sex’, in part through the ‘*incorporation of perversions and a new specification of individuals*’ (1998, pp. 42-43).

Before moving on, I want to say a little more about the norm and normalisation.

Foucault (2004) contends that the norm is ‘one element that will circulate between the disciplinary and the regulatory’, making ‘it possible to control both the disciplinary order of the body and the aleatory events that occur in the biological multiplicity’ (p. 252). The norm is hence the ‘point of concatenation’ (Ball, 2013, p. 54) insofar as it determines and defines what is ‘evident’, expected and desirable, enabling at the same time the distribution, measurement, hierarchization and classification of bodies – their capacities, conducts and dispositions – along a spectrum of normality and, indeed, abnormality. Indeed, ‘[a] normalizing society is the historical outcome of a technology of power centred on life’ (Foucault, 1998, p. 144). The norm tends to function as a kind of law, and is implicated in the transformation of sovereignty into a democratised form (see **Part One**).

There are two kinds of norms which concern me here: one is more disciplinary and registered at the level of the individual, assessing and demarcating them as normal or abnormal, and the other is indexed at the level of the population, and is statistically defined (Dean, 2013). The first is embodied, for example, in the image, form and profile of the archetypal Teach First participant (in an ‘exceptional’ instance), which takes its substantive moral and dispositional shape from the knowledge of the ‘best headteachers in London’ and the ‘recruitment departments’ of Teach First’s corporate partners. This archetypal form is also historical, demonstrating the qualities of mind and temperament, and inheriting the obligations, of the good puritan and the secular shepherd. The second norm is evident, for example, in the identification of ‘normal’ attainment, and also the ‘achievement gap’ and its various distributions around the norm (couched in terms of, for example, a gendered, racialised or classed gap). It is also evident in the statistical mapping and forecasting of conduct at the level of the population (see below).

The Teach First problem-space of government

A problem-space is an optical, rational(ised) and material domain of government. Such domains are ‘mobile’ and designate, and are designated by, power-knowledge relations and their differential entwinement. That is, these domains are historical, formed in ‘the connection between power relations and the formation of social

scientific knowledges' (Ball, 2013, p. 13). The 'things' and problems which concern these spaces are not simply 'revealed' in their pure form, or essential objectivity: they are in part constituted by the particular forms of rationality, knowledge and expertise, the social practices which are deployed/authorised/enfolded in making them thinkable, knowable and practicable. That is, according to Foucault at least, problematization⁶⁸

does not mean the representation of a pre-existent object nor the creation through discourse of an object that did not exist. It is the ensemble of discursive and non-discursive practices that make something enter into the play of true and false and constitute it as an object of thought (whether in the form of moral reflection, scientific knowledge, political analysis, etc.).

(Foucault, 1994a, p. 670)

In the process of making 'things' and 'processes' thinkable and knowable, as we have seen, these very 'things' (i.e. the economy, population, society, the social, policy, the human subject, the 'good liberal citizen') are at the same time rendered amenable to particular, multiple, and in some cases differential kinds of intervention and government (i.e. pastoral, disciplinary, governmental, authoritarian, *laissez faire*). Lemke (2002, p. 55) argues, for example, that

a political rationality is not pure, neutral knowledge which simply 'represents' the governing reality; instead it itself constitutes the intellectual processing of the reality which political technologies can then tackle. This is understood to include agencies, procedures, institutions, legal forms, etc., that are intended to enable us to govern the objects and subjects of a political rationality.

The forms of knowledge and expertise mobilised in understanding, for example, the 'urban problem', or the child, the learner, the parent or the group, 'operate here to produce the phenomenon to which they are addressed' (Ball, 2013, pp. 51-52). They also operate to produce differences, grades and gradients, as argued above. The *disadvantaged child*, in this sense, is an epistemological and historical 'fabrication', in Tom Popkewitz's terms (2013). That is to say that the *disadvantaged child* is an historical and contingent object of knowledge rendered into reality by the different forms of knowledge (i.e. philosophical, psychological, sociological, biological,

⁶⁸ Problematization has two meanings in Foucault's work: a governmental practice and a research sensibility.

eugenic, etc.) which are brought to bear upon their intelligibility and problematization (see, for instance, Baker, 2001; Popkewitz, 2004; Popkewitz, 2013). That is, how they are defined as a problem, including the necessary means for their rectification.

Popkewitz puts this accordingly:

Knowledge about the family, the child and the teacher are not merely 'ideas' about people but enter into and part of the materiality of the social world ... The historicizing of the fabrications of human kinds is to direct attention to the materiality of knowledge; that is, the rules and standards of reason embody historically produced principles that circulate to order reflection and action in everyday life. The principles are assembled as cultural theses that order how conclusions are drawn, rectification proposed and the fields of existence made manageable and predictable.

(2013, p. 444)

Importantly for my present concerns, Popkewitz adds that 'one consequence is the production of kinds of people who are in need of salvation or rescue' (2004, p. 13). As I look at now, the *disadvantaged child* is an 'exception', fabricated by the 'singular bodies of knowledge, observations and practices', which 'identify and act upon such things as problematic personal conduct' and 'pathological conditions from drug addiction to dementia, unsatisfactory performance in the workplace, and irresponsible, illegal and criminal identities from the deadbeat dad to drug trafficker' (Dean, 2007, p. 190). The mobilisation of bio-political knowledge and expertise, accompanied by 'discourses, narratives, world views and styles of thought' (Lemke, 2007, p. 48), 'simultaneously produces those needs by comparing one child to another or to a norm' (Popkewitz, 2004, p. 14). It is in this way, moreover, that 'The resulting fabrication of the human kind becomes self-fulfilling' (Timm, 2008, p. 36). Let us now look at this in relation to Teach First.

The disadvantaged child and the pathology of the urban

Educational disadvantage is a social injustice that affects us all ... A child growing up in a low income community can become tied into a cycle of low educational achievement, inferior job opportunities and greatly increased chance of drug use, poor health and involvement with crime.

(Teach First, website)

This statement articulates a politics of vitality, and serves to objectify and fabricate the *disadvantaged child*. It tells us (by drawing upon a range of disciplinary/bio-political knowledge)⁶⁹ that this is a child prone to underachievement, unemployment, crime, disease and drug abuse. These problems and abnormalities, moreover, are abstracted from individual experiences and indexed at the level of the population. We are told in the Teach First graduate recruitment brochure (2014, see *Figure 7.1* below), for instance, that ‘Just 24% of students receiving free school meals achieved the benchmark 5A*-C grades at GCSE, less than half the average rate’, and that ‘50% of all males and 70% of all females in prison achieved no qualifications at all at school or college’.



Figure 7.1. Recruitment Brochure: the Teach First problem-space

Consider *Figure 7.1*. above: the stark black/white contrast; the affective ‘human images’ and the sense of fulfilment and joy on their faces; the bio-truth claims and forecasts; and the presenting of vital statistics/diagrams/charts. In the centre and foreground, standing back to back, we observe the individual care of the participant towards a member of her flock – this is the participant as *martyr*. The background depicts two vitally disposed worlds, one in the shadows, the other enlightened; one

⁶⁹ On the website and in Teach First publications, a mix of disciplinary knowledge is referenced. There is also a strong influence from business and management theory. This was also apparent at the Teach First conference.

normal, the other abnormal. The image captures and conveys, rather strikingly, the *negative image* of the problem-space. It embodies a double gesture ‘which expresses the hope of the future and simultaneously establishes human kind(s) dangerous to that future and abjected into unlivable spaces ... With the hope of saving the “urban” child is the fears of that child as a danger to the future’ (Popkewitz, 2013, pp. 440, 446). As we will see below, this is an economic fear, but we can see that it is also a fear of moral and mortal atrophy: this is a vital-pathology of the present and the future which embraces the body, culture and ethics.

Poor education doesn’t just result in poor grades. The impact of inadequate education can last a lifetime – and affect the lives of the generation that follows. In the UK, people living in the poorest neighbourhoods will, on average, die seven years earlier, having lived lives with fewer opportunities and less choice. Some children begin their life journey at a disadvantage. Is it fair that education should consolidate that disadvantage and make it permanent?

(Teach First, graduate recruitment brochure, 2014)

Education is positioned in this extract as a *vital technology* for sustaining and optimizing the liberal way of life. But it is also problematized as complicit in ‘consolidating’ *indispositionality*, such as that associated with disadvantage. We are again reminded in the extract at the top of this section that these problems, including the conduct of the disadvantaged child, ‘affect us all’, presumably because ‘we’ could be subject to crime, and because ‘we’ contribute to public spending on health, education, security and the penal system, etc. We are made fearful (affective power): the ‘city’, citizenship and the ‘good life’ are in danger from within. They must be, on the one hand, secured, and, on the other, mobilised towards this end – a demonic coupling of pastoral and sovereign powers.

We train and support people with leadership potential to become inspirational teachers in schools in low income communities across the UK. These teachers change lives. They help young people believe in themselves, and empower them to build a future they may not have believed possible.⁷⁰

What we see here is an unfolding and enfolding of a bio-political action: the *disadvantaged child* (and their ‘socio-economic background’, as Teach First puts it) is

⁷⁰ <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/>

problematized and, at the same time, constructed in terms of moral and ‘vital’ deficiency. They are ‘abjected’ and ‘abnormalised’, the reverse side of the liberal normativity inscribed in the image and conduct of the archetypal form, and therefore rendered amenable to disciplinary and authoritarian intervention in the name of state security: the *disadvantaged child* is an ‘individual to be corrected’ (Foucault, 2003, p. 57), but also a faceless and ‘unnameable’ part of a sub-populational group to be monitored, forecast and securitized.

It should be noted, however, that from a liberal perspective, the child more generally is one who has yet to reach individual and political maturity, i.e. able to vote, be subject to the law (in ‘normal’ courts), be governable through freedom. It is this ‘immaturity’ which qualifies their ‘illiberal’ (disciplinary, bio-political) government, as noted earlier. In the case of Teach First and Teach First schools, however, a subgroup is identified (i.e. by the FSM indicator, or as ‘underachieving’ against a national average, or norm, of educational attainment), and then classified as in need of ‘special’ treatment. The repair of the disadvantaged child in this instance centres on closing ‘the achievement gap’ – a kind of *bio-performativity* – and ethical interventions into their conduct in the form of raising aspirations and ‘inspiring’ (see below), for which Teach First provides expertise and (human, discursive, technical, political) resources. The end of this *bio-performativity*, as can be seen in *Figure 7.2* below, is to secure the future vitality of the child in terms of ethical, cultural and medical morbidity/pathology (poor health and involvement with crime), and economic productivity (the downward spiral of scarce job opportunities).

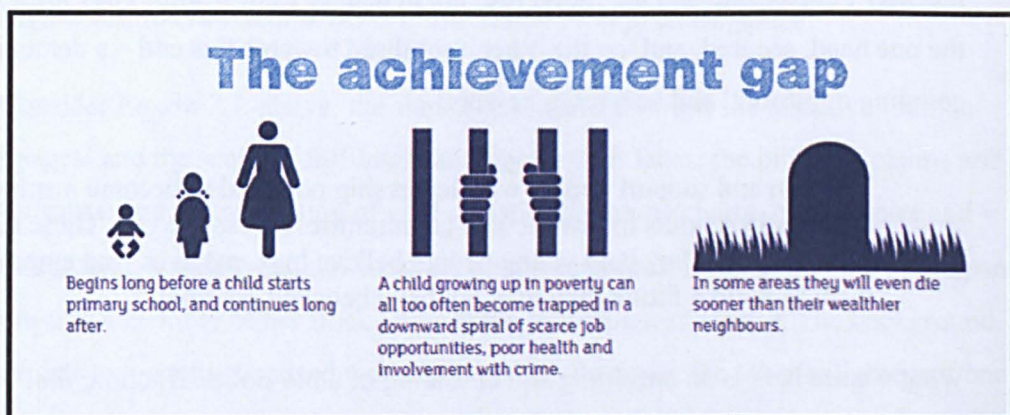


Figure 7.2. Recruitment Brochure: Bio-performativity and the achievement gap

We should be clear that this problem-space forms part of a wider field of bio-political and governmental force relations which bear upon numerous 'sites' of problematization, intervention and/or regulation. This includes but is not limited to 'those of public health and hygiene, of social welfare and insurance mechanisms, and of the urban problem' (Dean, 2013, pp. 35-36), whose management may well involve practices of 'authoritarian liberalism' (Dean, 2007). As Ball puts it, alongside the

emphasis upon the use of freedom and choice in relation to those deemed responsible and productive, there is a continuing or indeed increased discriminate use of violent power, forms of 'micro-violence', in relation to particular social groups such as asylum seekers and welfare recipients, unemployed or troublesome youth, who are seen as a threat to social order, together with, generally, more intrusive forms of surveillance and scrutiny.

(Ball, 2010b, p. 156)

This wider bio-political field contains and is characterised by a number of vital and negative images, such as dependent/independent subjects, the deserving/underserving poor, skivers/strivers, the saveable/unsaveable, and even those school children identified and fabricated as SEN/Gifted and Talented.⁷¹ Casting an eye back to *Challenge 2012*, a government minister, Ian Brady, was invited to speak about 'troubled families' and what he called the 'moral and financial case' for their political intervention and correction. He declared that 'families that cause problems in communities and in schools' are 'a drain on public resources' and 'cost an awful lot of money'. The 'Troubled Families Programme', or 'Family Improvement Programme' as it is also called, includes schemes for 'getting adults working' and 'keeping children at school', so as to 'cut crime and anti-social behaviour', also reiterated in the Allen Report, as above. Max Haimendorf also spoke of the need for 'schools to compensate for society' and to be 'held to account' in 'transforming the children they serve'.

New urban educational institutions, such as academies (many of which partner with Teach First), are particular manifestations of this bio-politics and authoritarian liberalism. In some cases, these schools are deploying ever stricter and minute disciplinary practices, such as increasing the school day, home-school agreements,

⁷¹ Special Educational Needs (SEN).

and tighter and more punitive specification and control of students (in terms of movement, dress, appearance, general conduct), both within and outside the school gates (see, for instance, Kulz, 2014). In her ethnographic study of one of the ‘flagship’ city academies (the architectural design of which resembles rather strikingly Bentham’s Panopticon), Kulz notes the increased and intensified disciplinary and ‘authoritarian’ practices that are exercised upon ‘pathologized’ student bodies and communities:

This authoritarian school opened in 2004 under the ethos ‘structure liberates’. Based in a predominantly deprived, ethnic minority area of London, Beaumont seeks to culturally transform its students ... The ethos pathologizes the surrounding area while essentializing itself as an ‘oasis in the desert’ liberating students through discipline ... [S]tudent (and staff) movements occur under the vigilant eye of a disciplinary regime that asserts its values by passing moral judgements and producing hierarchies that students navigate between, around and through.

(2014, pp. 685, 688)

There is also the (continued) authoritative articulation and imposition of class-based values and norms. In particular, the ‘authoritarian school’ upholds, solicits and enforces (secures) the values and conducts of the middle-class. This might involve, as Max Haimendorf put it at *Challenge 2012*, instilling middle-class cultural capital through, for instance, exposing the *urban child* to ‘Shakespeare and string instruments’. In strong terms, Kulz (2014, p. 687) suggests that the

Imposition of middle-class values, attitudes and behaviours as universal norms implicitly rest on culturalist racisms and class-based pathologies that ignore how hierarchical societies require losers. Poor parenting and deficient cultures [are] positioned as the central problems.

These kinds of ‘dividing practices’ are historical, as I argued in **Part 1**. Ball (2013, p. 55) suggests that the history of (urban) education policy and schooling is in fact a history of blood, that is ‘a history of classifications or exclusions, of normalizations, of modifications (therapy/repair) ... which puts education, in its various manifestations at the centre of the problem of *the urban* and the concomitant problem of the population’. Whilst these dividing practices are not new, then, they do take some different forms and are organised and transacted in some novel ways in the (post-welfare) present. One example is their falling into the remit and governance,

once again, of social enterprises and philanthropies, like Teach First, rather than, or to be more precise, in partnership with the state. Teach First is folded into this neo-liberal bio-politics as a member of the liberal police, or civil agent of security, and brings with it the resources (both epistemological and material) of the market, as I look at below. This is, moreover, an instance of ‘delegated sovereignty’ (Dean, 2007, p. 138), that is, for example, ‘how parents, families, health experts, counsellors, and other members of everyday society enact decisions about life and death, in part by rendering decisions about what constitutes normality, security, and the conditions of public order’ (Nadesan, 2008, p. 26). That is to say, Teach First and its disciplinary and bio-political – and also affective and governmental – functions are brought to bear upon and within the management of the ‘urban problem’ and the *disadvantaged child*. This includes: the classification and enclosure of ‘Teach First schools’ and the monitoring of their ‘vital signs’ (indicators on performance, intake, etc.); statistical presentations, projections and forecasts of problematic and ‘unhealthy’ populations, that is, the citing and deployment of bio-political knowledges and instruments; and its machinations and policy solutions (see below).

As I will develop below, Teach First operates within, and helps to define, one of an ‘array of micro-sectors’, in this instance ‘comprised of those who are [potentially] unable or unwilling to enterprise their lives or manage their own risk, incapable of exercising responsible self-government, attached either to no moral community or to a community of anti-morality’ (Rose, 1999, p. 259). The bio-political imperative is here both united with, and constrained by, a neo-liberal regime of truth:

New territory is emerging, after the welfare state, for the management of these micro-sectors, traced out by a plethora of quasi-autonomous agencies working within the ‘savage spaces’, in the ‘anti-communities’ on the margins, or with those abjected by virtue of their lack of competence or capacity for responsible ethical self-management ... Within this new territory of exclusion, the social logics of welfare bureaucracies are replaced by new logics of competition, market segmentation and service management: the management of misery and misfortune can become, once more, a potentially profitable activity.

(Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 105)

I have already explored some of the circuits of economisation and profit – the moral economy – which plugs into the Teach First mission, harnessing and exploiting its affectivity and ‘good will’. We should also note, again returning to a previous theme,

that the *fabrication* of the *disadvantaged child* (and, with that, Teach First schools), is accompanied by the establishment of Teach First and the participants/ambassadors as ‘saviour subjects’, and the latter as particular kinds of ‘effective teachers’, as I looked at in Part 2. These teachers intervene, as Teach First puts it, by ‘driving up standards’, ‘helping children achieve better grades’, and by ‘raising aspirations’ – again, a form of *bio-performativity*:

By joining Teach First you will literally change young people’s lives and help them to access a different future. It’s a bold claim, but it’s happening already in primary and secondary schools up and down the country where over 4300 Teach First participants – people like you – have committed their energy, ideas and enthusiasm to improving the lives of young people. That may mean helping young people to achieve better grades and continue in education or pursue another career; it may mean opening their eyes to their own potential, or it may be simply giving them the confidence to try.

(Conference Brochure)

As I explore next, Teach First articulates a neo-liberal problem/solution frame in response to these bio-political problems, which centres on the problem of ‘dependency’ and the (in)capacities and responsibilities of the *disadvantaged child*. In looking more closely at these machinations, I will also say a little more about the pastoral relationship inscribed in the negative image of the problem-space, and its proposed resolution.

The solution

Teach First claims that by ‘raising aspirations’ (*opening their eyes to their own potential*) and ‘raising achievement’ (*helping young people to achieve better grades*), and by giving disadvantaged pupils ‘opportunities’ which they can ‘maximize whilst still navigating staggering challenges’ (Teach First Conference, opening ceremony), these problematic subjects will (and must) be able to take responsibility for themselves, no matter the degree and circumstances of their inequality. This ‘solution’ – which Teach First does accept is only partial – evinces a neo-liberalised version of ‘aspiration’, but also of social welfare and social justice. It is an example, as Brown (2013, p. 419) puts it, of ‘a particular form of neo-liberal social hope based around promoting individualised social mobility’. It is counteractive, not of the market or of inequality, but of the individual. It does not question – as I have pointed out

previously – the self-evidence, or the ‘necessariness’, of existing barriers and practices of inequality and social advantage. Apple (2014, pp. 19-20) notes that ‘Equality, no matter how limited or broadly conceived, has become redefined’. Teach First explains:

These pupils may need to be even more motivated and resilient to overcome the barriers that they face.⁷²

(see: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about/our-strategy>)

The disadvantaged child must come to accept their inequality and their own culpability. Aspiration has become a synonym for *responsibilisation*, and *responsibilisation* for *individualisation* and *economic self-government*. Again this is the antipathy/antithesis of the welfare state and the concern for its subjects ‘from cradle to the grave’. Consider the following affective account (*Figure 7.3.*) which appears on the Teach First website:⁷³

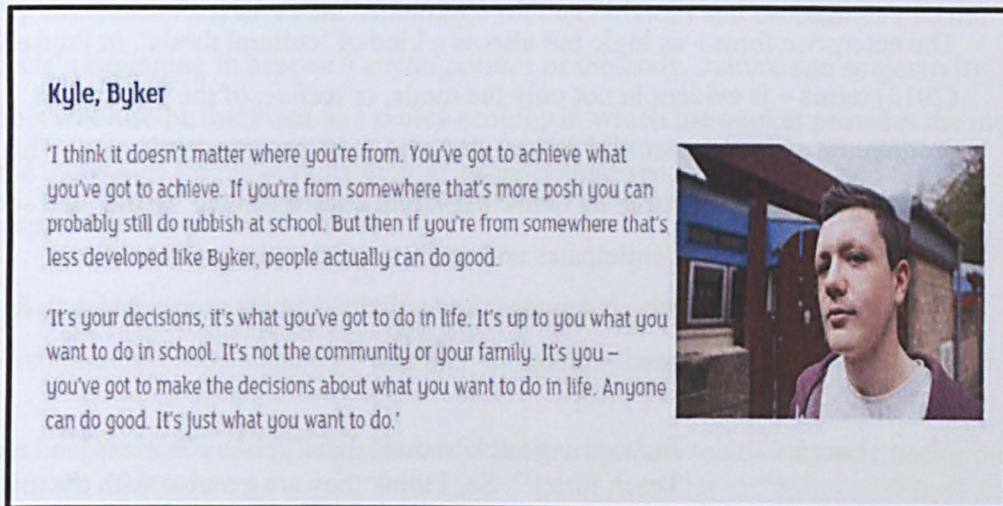


Figure 7.3. Teach First Website: Young person's story

What appears to be sought here, then, through the ‘exceptional’ example, ‘leadership’ and pastoral guidance of the Teach First teacher (and wider Teach First community), is a depoliticised and individualised subject (‘It doesn’t matter where you’re from. You’ve got to achieve what you’ve got to achieve ... It’s not the community or

⁷² See: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/about/our-strategy>

⁷³ See: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/we-need-talk-about-education>

family. It's you ...') who understands the fruits of making an enterprise of her/himself, and who accepts, can calculate and manage their own risk ('It's your decisions ... it's just what you want to do'). In turn, this 'corrected' and 'modified' subject will (hopefully) reduce their (future) economic burden upon the state (and the juridical polity) by avoiding *indispositional* 'states of being' such as 'welfare dependency', NEET,⁷⁴ crime and ill health. This is an example, then, of a form of biopolitics and security in which 'problematic' sections of the population are 'increasingly represented, interpreted, and addressed using neo-liberal problem-solution frames, which stress enterprise, philanthropy, and personal responsibility while deemphasizing social explanations of human agency' (Nadesan, 2008, pp. 211-212). Lemke (2001, p. 201) qualifies:

The strategy of rendering individual subjects 'responsible' (and also collectivities, such as families, associations, etc.) entails shifting the responsibility for social risks such as illness, unemployment, poverty, and so forth, and for life in society, into the domain for which the individual is responsible and transforming it into a problem of 'self-care'.

The enterprise form – as logic but also as a kind of 'cultural thesis', in Popkewitz's (2013) terms – is evident in not only the mode, or *techne*, of the Teach First programme and movement for reform, but also in its programmatic *telos*. This is to say that the *enterprise form*, as I have explored, constitutes the 'world' and social subject that Teach First anticipates and seeks to secure, the realities of and possibilities which it both presupposes and solicits, and the utopia which is its ultimate objective and 'end-point':

Laura: Just coming back to that [social] class comment [and elitism in Teach First]⁷⁵. So, I think they are genuine with the mission but also genuine in that they keep saying, and it's really ambitious, that Teach First should, kind of, be fulfilled in that eventually it shouldn't have ... Teach First shouldn't have to be Teach First, it shouldn't have to exist because it's [educational inequality] been eradicated. I mean it's quite a loose, vague dream but they do give that to us as an answer for why.

Monica: Yeah.

⁷⁴ Teach First is active in *NEET* policy.

Rebecca: And there's the participant's now. I think last year was the first year, or the year before, I don't know, where you had Teach First participants who had been educated by Teach First teachers, so the cycle's beginning to happen.

(Group interview)

The Teach First problem-space is therefore 'concerned with *why* we govern or are governed, the ends or goal sought, what we hope to become or the world we hope to create' (Dean, 2010, p. 27). The organisation incites, solicits and nurtures, and join-ups, supports and enables the enterprising capacities of its participant, partner and alumnus community. It also encloses and intervenes on abjected and 'deficient' populations and bodies, deemed vulnerable to *indispositional conduct*, as above. This is the reflexive form of government characteristic – but not exhaustive – of the governing of the present, whereby 'the objectives of policy also become their means' (Dean, 2010, p. 175). At the same time, one can also see here an aspect of 'ethopolitics' (Rose, 2000), and I come back to this in the next chapter where I explore Teach First as a *vital technology* which cultivates and propagates ('so the cycle's beginning to happen') a *vital politics* of the body, culture and subjectivity. This will also be theorised as a *policy ecology* in which the market provides the means and the values for the optimization of an individualised and depoliticised form of responsible bio-political conduct.

I shall now begin to draw this chapter to a close by returning, firstly, to the Teach First mission/vision statement, and then the pastoral relationship:

No child's educational success is limited by their socio-economic background.

As perhaps a quintessential neo-liberal truth-claim, the assumption here is that structural inequalities like economic deprivation, and those associated with social class, gender, race and disability, should not prevent even the most disadvantaged from making an enterprise of themselves and from becoming successful. This seductive and affective narrative is difficult to counter in everyday language and terms (it is also a popular narrative – consider the media and political hyperbole over the Paralympic Games and those achieving 'success against the odds', at the same time as those receiving disability and other welfare support are stigmatised and

governed by authoritarian means – another *negative image*). I don't want to suggest that there is an absence of genuine concern amongst the Teach First community towards the problems and realities of inequality, far from it. All of the teachers that I spoke to were highly dedicated and passionate about their work, and cared about the children under their care. Many also had their own reservations about the ways in which Teach First conducts itself, including those who felt passionately about the mission. The point is that everything is *dangerous*, not necessarily bad. What we do see here, however, is an authoritative statement which claims that the solutions to (and also the causes of) 'wicked' social problems, reside, to a greater or lesser degree, in the individual and his/her ethical and moral comportment. This is something that can be addressed and potentially corrected by the Teach First teacher (and wider community), who is constituted as a governmental subject of intervention (Bailey, 2013), that is, as a 'technician of behaviour' (Foucault, 1977) and authority of conduct for a post-welfare state. The Teach First teacher is enterprising and responsible, moral and risk-taking, calculating and instrumental (Ball, 2013): it is these 'qualities' which are to be demonstrated and communicated to the *disadvantaged child* (and others), in a similar way to how the Victorian teacher was to be both a modern and moral authority of conduct for the urban working classes (Larsen, 2011) – the idea of 'inculcating [an ethos]' in the learner, as one participant put it in an interview. These qualities and dispositions, moreover, are also to be brought to bear on their management.

Sharif's Story



With no space to work in his crowded home, Sharif struggled with A-level maths. But our teacher, Mr Fairbairn, saw his potential and offered him space in his office after school. Empowered by his teacher's belief and engaging lessons, Sharif achieved an A grade in his exams, and the confidence to match.

"Mr Fairbairn made me realise that even someone like me, who was not particularly gifted or talented in anything, could do well and achieve if I tried hard enough."

Figure 7.4. Sharif's Story: The pastoral relationship

‘Sharif’s story’ (*Figure 7.4.*) featured at the Teach First conference, and also appears on the back of the conference brochure which we have come across before. The ‘story’ (an instance of affective labour) depicts an event: the teacher, Mr Fairbairn, ‘saw [Sharif’s] potential and offered him space in his office after school’. Sharif was ‘empowered by his teacher’s belief and engaging lessons’. Again, this is the individualised care of the pastor towards a member of his congregation. Mr Fairbairn is leading and directing a soul (Sharif) towards salvation which, in this instance, is not salvation from original sin, but salvation from, perhaps, *worldly sin*:

‘unemployability’, ‘underachievement’, ‘dependency’ or ‘passivity’. There were a number of similar examples at the Teach First conference (the ‘case studies’).

Salvation in each instance was instrumental: getting good grades for access into the labour market, or achieving a place at an elite university. Kiersey (2011, p. 38) makes the point that ‘Where the Christian pastoral took the conveyance into heaven as its goal, today’s capitalism actively seeks out the deep capacities of human capital, especially the capacities of subjectivization, in order to generate surplus capital from them’. The point is that this modern form of pastoral power seeks to ‘endow individuals with the necessary resources and strategies to anchor themselves in the realm of the economic’ (Vrasti, 2013, p. 40).

It should be pointed out, finally, that whilst Teach First is a technology of empowerment (and citizenship), the organisation also communicates and articulates a strong discourse of meritocracy. For example,

HEAPS stands for Higher Education Access Programme for Schools. Gifted pupils are identified within Teach First schools and they are matched with an Ambassador who will mentor them over an 18 month period and really support them as they think about potential progression to university.

(Director of Ambassadors, Teach First)

This discourse – along with those of enterprise and philanthropy – forms part of a ‘loose but coherent “discursive ensemble” which articulates a particular vision and purpose for education’ (Ball and Junemann, 2011, p. 655). Ball and Junemann (*ibid*, p. 655) note:

In the simplest sense, educational philanthropy can provide opportunities to students and families with talent or ability whose education is inhibited by

disadvantage ... The philanthropies seek to address the problems of young people who they see as not currently well served by the state system.

The issue here is that whilst one cannot criticise helping ‘talented’ students from disadvantaged backgrounds to access opportunities and achieve success, the question remains as to what happens to those ‘others’ who continue to be abjected by the virtues and ends of ‘equal opportunity’, which continue to prevail over and against those of ‘equality of outcome’. To achieve, again in the rather apt words of Brett Wigdortz, ‘Success Against the Odds’, the ‘risky’ and vulnerable child must make the most of the (limited) stake they have in the game, and hope that they are one of the lucky or ‘talented’ few. I insinuate that perhaps the most dangerous fabrication here is that the ‘truths’ of inequality, despite the no doubt good intentions of the community, are constrained by this discursive ensemble and its articulation within a broader regime of neo-liberal truth. Moreover, it is in this way that we can think about the Teach First problem-space as articulating a ‘demonic coupling’ of pastoral and sovereign powers. That is to say, Teach First aims to optimize the *disadvantaged child* – as a subject of needs – in the sovereign and authoritarian image of the ‘good life’ and its immanent ‘ethical despotisms’, aspects of which have been and continue to be responsible for intensifying and increasing existing socio-economic and cultural inequalities. At the same time, Teach First contributes to and is a direct effect of the transformation of the mechanisms, purposes and objectives of the welfare state, as we saw above and in the previous chapter. That is, Teach First serves to delimit and constrain a ‘rival’ form of bio-politics which, we should not forget, and despite its short fallings, was no doubt responsible for improving the lives, opportunities and security of a great number of people, and for redistributing economic and social resources ‘downwards’. Rather than soliciting an art of bio-politics which shortens the odds against which one can achieve ‘success’, Teach First is actively imbricated in one which draws a line of inclusion/exclusion between the ‘aspiring’ and ‘unaspiring’, the ‘talented’ and the ‘untalented’. In this sense, the Teach First problem-space is just one current iteration of what Ball (2013) refers to as the moving historical boundaries between the normal and the abnormal, the ‘exile and the leper’, and those who can and cannot be ‘saved’ (p. 85). Finally, it is an instance of the problematization of the ‘biological and economic marketplace’, as Michael Apple (2014, p. 20) puts it, in which advantage/inequality is ‘[n]o longer ... seen as linked to past group oppression

and disadvantage. It is now simply a case of guaranteeing individual choice under the conditions of a “free market” ... [Underachievement] once again increasingly is seen as largely the fault of the student’.

Forms of life and their Sovereign Arbitration: Teach First and a politics of vitality



Figure 8.1. The Teach First Ambassador Logo

The Teach First ambassador logo is a remarkably apt and useful point of departure for the investigations of this chapter, which continues to explore, in some more or less different, interrelated and novel ways, the bio-politics of Teach First. The community is depicted in the logo by the image of a *dandelion*, a common flower which has at its disposal a rather innovative mechanism of wind-assisted seed dispersal. These seeds of actual and potential life appear to represent the ambassadors themselves, both individually and collectively. As individual *seeds* of potential, so the narrative is sewn, these people and the collective movement of which they are a part are to 'shape the future of education'. What we see here, I suggest, is Teach First portraying and presenting itself and its community as an *organic* movement of *policy vitality*.

Pushing this just a little bit further, one could also say that the image serves to represent the vitality and creativity of civil society itself, including its 'necessary' and 'desired' autonomy from the corridors of government and the wants of interest groups

and political factions. This makes even more sense if we recall the efforts that Teach First makes to emphasise the apolitical nature of the movement, which is instead presented as an affective and common-sense association between ‘friends’. One of the things that I will argue below, however, is that this kind of ‘anti-politics’ (Rose, 1996a) nourishes the contingent and ‘inflationary’ – and politically debilitating – *state-phobia* (Foucault, 2010) which has been a more or less consistently articulated feature in the genealogy of the liberal arts of government – the post-war welfare state being something of a brief and partial hiatus.⁷⁶ Significantly for the investigations of this chapter, such a view

is evident in the cautious enchantment with ‘local communities’ or civil society across social, cultural and health policies of advanced welfare states. Whether civil society figures as the ‘partner,’ ‘zone,’ or ‘source’ of government, these programs rest on a hope in civil society – a hope that it holds the solutions, innovative forces, or instructive ethics essential for efficient and effective delivery of services that were once the sole province of the welfare state. This movement and rationality gives Michel Foucault’s genealogy of what he called ‘state phobia’ a renewed pertinence.

(Villadsen and Dean, 2012, p. 401)

Perhaps one could venture to say, then, that Teach First and its *politics of vitality* is about affirming, cultivating and *animating* a form of valued and autonomous (policy) life, and injecting its spirit into the education state and beyond. Whilst we must be careful to underline that this self-understanding and *policy ecology* is informed by a particular liberal discourse on the vitality of civil society (and the fatality of the state), as I explore below, it is this form of immanent life – its animation and sovereign arbitration, its government and its genealogy – which forms the critical and overarching theme of this final empirical chapter. Cutting across the different analyses below, moreover, is Dean’s (2013, p. 255) concise qualification that ‘Bio-politics is both the claim to what life is and the actions to preserve and enhance it, even where that means the disqualification of the lives of others’.

In what follows below, then, my attention in some ways shifts from the bio-politics of the population, to the *vital politics* of life, its government and its different forms. This

⁷⁶ This organic view of civil society, however, fails to appreciate the ways in which civil society is discursively constructed, and the historically active role of the state in its constitution and the checking of its ‘potentially lethal conflicts’ (Villadsen and Dean, 2012, p. 413).

in turn will require, at least in part, attending more directly (and critically) to the novelty of the bio-political present. However, this is an analytical and exploratory move, and I do not intend to valorise an epochal rupture in, or downgrading of, the powers of life and death. The arguments will at times be quite complex, and often only nascent, tentative and experimental, and they will certainly be incomplete. In the words of Lingard, Sellar and Savage (2014, p. 711), one might say that my more limited aim is to ‘open up a set of issues, rather than to provide a definitive account’, and in this instance to open up a set of possibilities and problem-points for exploring some of the novel relations of power which animate Teach First and the governing of the (policy) present. It should be added that whilst I will be introducing some new themes, I will at times also be revisiting and developing some previous ones, particularly from **Part 2** – including the *archetypal form*, the *Teach First competencies and values*, the *politics of affect*, and the *concept of resilience*.

This chapter is organised into three discrete parts, though there is some overlap between them; whether these parts form a coherent whole is another matter, though all coalesce around the theme of vitality and ‘the concept of life’ (Dean, 2013), and all address and indicate, in different ways, the salience of sovereignty in policy and power. The first part (1.) explores Teach First in relation to the so-called ‘new’ of bio-power, and in particular as an instance of what Nikolas Rose calls ‘ethopolitics’ (2000). This ‘politics of life itself’ (Rose, 2007) forms part, for Rose and others, of a new diagram of bio-political force relations, correlated to developments in the life-sciences. From this perspective, *ethopolitics* represents a new molecular form, if not displacement, of bio-power, and is further associated with novel and emergent forms of community oriented governmentality. Whilst I will demonstrate some of the value in thinking about Teach First in this way, I will be careful not to prescribe too readily to the reductive and apparently optimistic tone with which such a bio-politics is presented, not least by some of these governmentality scholars themselves. At the same time, I stop short of subordinating and limiting bio-politics to a liberal governmentality which works through the regulated freedoms and choices of the governed in contemporary liberal democracies (Dean, 2013).

The second part (2.) builds upon the first by examining Teach First as a form of *vital technology* which not only activates and solicits ways of living and being, as explored in **Part 2**, but also *animates* a form of valued life amongst others. I consider Teach

First as a *technology of animation*, that is, at least in part, as a *technology of the self* whereby individuals are *obliged* to speak the truth about themselves in relation to discourse. I do this by analysing the Teach First *assessment process*, which includes an application form, a face-to-face interview and a group task. As a brief aside, I will also demonstrate how, in some ways at least, the very logic of the competency-based assessment process – and the LDP more broadly – animates an affective and ‘neuronal’ (Pitts-Taylor, 2010) conception of the self, and that is in the form of the ‘emotionally intelligent’ and ‘resilient’ teacher. The *animation* or embodiment of the Teach First self is discursively mediated and practised upon the self by the self, but in this particular context this is done under the scrutiny and supervision of authoritative others – namely, the *Teach First assessors*. This will attend to some of the minutiae of the processes of subjectivation, which I have made some comment on already (Part 2), but it will also emphasise the continued salience of sovereignty and authoritarianism in liberal practices of rule.

The third part (3.) explores what I call the *policy ecology* of Teach First by revisiting and expanding upon the concept of *resilience*, noting both its ecological roots and its co-optation by neo-liberal reason. This will be to add a further layer to the analysis of the bio-politics of Teach First, including the management of the disadvantaged child and the teacher, and to note some of the implications of this new form of liberal security for the political subject.

Towards a vital and critical analytics of policy and power

1. Molecularization and ethopolitics

Molecularization

In the previous chapter I explored some of the bio-political and disciplinary work that Teach First does on the *urban problem*. I noted there the fabrication of the *disadvantaged child* as an *indispositional other* in need of saving and requiring intervention, and the constitution and deployment of the teacher as secular pastor and authority of conduct. In this respect, I was arguably on more familiar ground when it comes to the bio-politics of education, its individualising and totalizing effects, and its optimizing and dividing practices. I did, however, begin to point up some of the novelty of the bio-political present, such as the neo-liberal and authoritarian enclosure

and management of diverse micro-sectors of government, of which I argued Teach First is a particular example, and also noted some of the new ‘boundaries of normality’ (Ball, 2013, p. 83) which objectivise individuals and populations along a continuum of governability. In this section, but also at other times below, I tackle the so-called ‘new’ of bio-power more directly, and do so, it should be said, with both an affirmative *and* a critical disposition.

New bio-power-and-politics?

[A]s the truth regimes of the life sciences have mutated, contemporary bio-politics has become *molecular politics*. And I think that developments in biomedicine have become deeply intertwined with prevailing technologies of the self, and that contemporary bio-politics is *ethopolitics*.

(Rose, 2001, pp. 1-2)

Nikolas Rose identifies above what he sees as two separate but interrelated features of contemporary bio-politics. He argues, firstly, that technological and epistemological transformations in the life sciences have presaged new ways of representing, visualizing and intervening upon bodies, and secondly that these developments are linked to new forms of self-technology which render personal vitality into an enterprise of self-care and self-optimization, or *ethopolitics*. The point, as Lemke (2011, p. 7) puts it in his summary of some recent literature on the topic, is that ‘the foundations, means and objectives of bio-political intervention have been transformed’.

I come back to *ethopolitics* below, but firstly I should emphasise that whilst ‘classic’ bio-power concerned itself with the regulation and optimization of the *biological*, *organic* and *molar* body of the population, this ‘new’ bio-power, if one can call it that, is indexed and targeted at a different scale, and that is at the level of *molecular* biological structures and processes. This mutated form, like its ‘predecessor’, is also entwined with cultural, psychological and sociological discourses and problematizations (see below). The *molecularization* of the life sciences, as it is sometimes termed, is not new; however the study of molecular systems and processes, and especially the complexities of the central (i.e. brain, spinal cord) and peripheral (i.e. nerves, neurons, axons) nervous system increased substantially over the second half of the twentieth century (see, for instance, Heilbron, 2003). Central to these

studies have been technological advances in, for instance, genomics, molecular biology, neuroscience and neuroimaging. According to Braun (2007, p. 9), these technologies produce and enable ‘new ways of conceiving and acting upon bodies’. What this means is that the body is viewed as open and transformable at the molecular and even genetic level – a ‘neuromolecular gaze’ (Abi-Rached and Rose, 2010). Rose notes, for instance, that ‘the elaboration of molecular models in the biology that has taken shape over the last three decades has similarly depended upon the technical re-engineering of life at this molecular level’, and includes ‘techniques of gene cutting and splicing ... [and] the customized fabrication of DNA sequences to order ...’ (Rose, 2001, pp. 14-15). Moreover, neuroscience is an increasingly interdisciplinary field which cuts across the social and behavioural sciences; in fact, its genealogy is firmly rooted in the ‘psy’ disciplines (Vrecko, 2010). There are disciplines, for instance, in cognitive and behavioural neuroscience, biological psychiatry, social neuroscience and even neuroeconomics. These disciplines explore, in different ways, how ‘psychological functions are produced by neural circuitry’ and ‘address complex questions about interactions of the brain with its environment’ (Wikipedia). At their most extreme, these disciplines ‘assert that we are who we are because of what our brains do; that we act the ways we do, feel the things we do, think what we think, and like what we like because of the structures of specific neurons and chemicals inside our heads’ (Vrecko, 2010, p. 3). Crucially, then, neural and molecular processes are linked to behaviour and, furthermore, are presented as improvable through work on the self, be it by drug treatment (i.e. psychopharmacology) or cognitive behavioural therapy (i.e. mindfulness).

What this appears to designate, then, is a new substrate and strata of bio-politics, situated ‘below the classic bio-political poles of “individual” and “population”’ (Lemke, 2011, p. 94). It is from this vantage point and perspective that life and vitality take on new meanings and possibilities, and from where ‘normativities appear open to alteration’ (Rose, 2001, p. 19). The traditional division between nature and culture, moreover, and between society and biology, is from this perspective dissolved (Lemke, 2011). This is important because cultural and environmental factors are increasingly linked to neural and molecular vitality and pathology (see below).

Very briefly, one can observe molecularization in contemporary education policy, invoked and operationalized, for example, in the resurgence of neuroscience and new

forms of behaviouralism in educational thinking and practice (Anderson, 2011; Bradbury, McGimpsey and Santori, 2013; Hall, Curtin and Rutherford, 2014). The Department for Education has recently announced funding for research into neuroscience and maths learning, and there are emergent disciplines in the *neuroscience of education* and even the *neuroscience of leadership*. Also significant is the problematization of disadvantaged children in the Early Years in terms of developmental (brain) pathology which is linked to environmental factors in the home (i.e. stimuli, diet, culture). In the previous chapter I noted the Allen Report (2011) on parenting which problematizes learning and developmental pathology in relation to such factors, and the front cover to the report deploys new visualisation technology to emphasise the point:⁷⁷



Figure 8.2. The Allen Report: Cultural pathology of the brain

The ‘molecular gaze’ is also evident in a recent Teach First recruitment brochure which ties ‘poor educational attainment’ to ‘lower income’ through the image of a *double helix-like structure* (see Figure 8.3.). This perhaps evokes a pathologised version of the ‘educogene’ noted previously.

⁷⁷ It should be added that research in the neurosciences is highly contested, including the study in which this image first appeared. The increasing popularity of neuroscience in informing health and education policy has also been subject to critique (see, for instance, Lowe, Lee and Macvarish, 2015; also see the article in the Guardian by Zoe Williams, available at: <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2014/apr/26/misused-neuroscience-defining-child-protection-policy>).

Another related example is the partial shift from an innate understanding of intelligence (and *character traits* – see below), towards the idea of ‘brain plasticity’ (see, for instance, Pitts-Taylor, 2010, on a critical account of the plastic brain and the neuronal self). At *Challenge 2012*, for example, one of the speakers spoke about the increasingly popular *epigenetics* in which ‘the brain adapts to hard work’. In this sense, he suggested, ‘there is no such thing as natural talent’. It should be added, however, that there is a tension in Teach First between, on the hand, the idea of success through an ethic of hard work and incentivizing a neo-liberal form of subjectivity, and on the other of *natural* talent and ability, as is manifest in the ‘talented’, ‘exceptional’ and ‘special’ archetypal form, and the policy focus on ‘gifted’ children (as is the case also with the majority of the ambassador start-ups). Discourses on Emotional Intelligence (EI or EQ) have also entered current policy thinking and, as I come back to later on, the Teach First LDP, along with the *competencies and values* and the organisation’s competency-based assessment process, reflect, operationalise and attempt to animate a ‘neuronal’ conception of the emotionally intelligent and resilient self (empathy, resilience, self-care, self-management, managing one’s own and others emotions) – *homoneuroaffectus* perhaps.

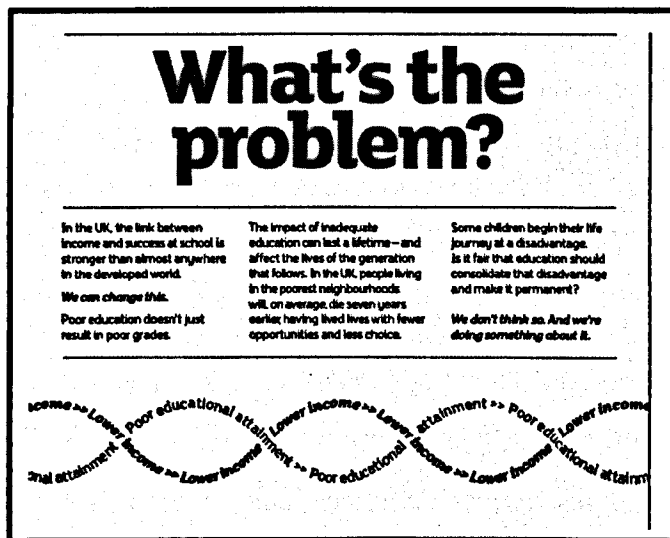


Figure 8.3. Teach First Recruitment Brochure: The educogene?

Importantly for my present concerns, there is also a political side to all of this. The 'molecular age', it is argued, has met and spawned new kinds of political association, and new forms of individual and collective identifications and sociality (Rabinow and

Rose, 2006). This has been particularly explored in relation to issues of health – including risks, rights, susceptibility, treatment and decision-making. Rabinow and Rose (2006, p. 197), for instance, have observed ‘emergent bio-social collectivities ... as in the emerging forms of genetic or biological citizenship’, and Rabinow (1992) introduces the idea of ‘biosociality’ to capture new forms of identifications, politics and social relationships around shared biological and genetic categories and risks. He predicts, for example, that

there will be groups formed around the chromosome 17, locus 416,256, site 654, 376 allele variant with a guanine substitution. These groups will have medical specialists, laboratories, narratives, traditions, and a heavy panoply of pastoral keepers to help them experience, share, intervene in, and ‘understand’ their fate.

(ibid., p. 244)

Significantly, these kinds of accounts indicate a shift away from state-controlled management of populations and their different sub-sets, towards a purportedly ‘downgraded’ vital politics ‘in which life itself and its quality is at stake’ (Dean, 2007, p. 155). Dean adds that this form and understanding of the bio-political, which resonates with other more or less dominant accounts of ‘post-social’ relations and (political) subjectivity (see below), ‘is at least partially conducted from below, that is, by those who seek to control fertility and pregnancy and to enhance and prolong their lives by using biomedical technologies, pharmaceuticals, surgery and medical know-how’ (ibid., p. 155). Put simply, this is a form and understanding of bio-politics in which ‘our biological life has become our life’s work’ (Braun, 2007, p. 6), which is to say that life and vitality are now a matter of personal ‘investments’ in, and personalised knowledges about, the (somatic, affective and ethical) self. Inda (2006, p. 29) argues:

This new ideal is such that the political apparatus no longer appears obligated to safeguard the well-being of the population through maintaining a sphere of collective security. Instead, individuals are now asked to take upon themselves the primary responsibility for managing their own security and that of their families.

Within this ‘diagram of vitality’ the individual becomes his- or her own ‘bio-politician’, and, it should be said, his- or her own sovereign. This is the ‘democratisation of sovereignty’ that I have noted previously, and what Dean (2007,

p. 193) calls the ‘sublimation of the [sovereign] decision by the construction of choices with the help and tutelage of experts and professionals found at the level of the individual, particularly in the domain of life politics’. It is perhaps tempting to conclude from this that bio-politics is now not so much the work of the state, and that it has been ‘thankfully’ displaced and downloaded on to a sphere of individual freedom, empowerment and choice. The danger here is that such a narrow understanding of bio-politics not only limits the ontology and study of power in the present, but also comes close to endorsing a fatal conception of the state and its supposedly cold and monstrous tendencies (and in the present instance, the *paternal, normalising, immobilising* welfare state). It also ignores Dean’s own point, noted previously, that different populations trigger different responses from the state based upon their capability to manage themselves.

With a bit of a contextual jump, I want to suggest that, in a limited sense at least, Teach First *is* a particular example of this kind of vital politics. In order to demonstrate this, I turn to Rose’s related notion of *ethopolitics*, which perhaps has a wider applicability than some of those more medical but related concepts and terms just discussed, and also Miller and Rose’s (2013, pp. 88-94) ‘government through community’. I also highlight more directly the ‘line of implication’ (Dean, 2002a) between Teach First and *molecularization* in the second substantive section below.

Ethopolitics and community

Related to the molecularization of life, then, is a ‘new politics of conduct’ (Rose, 2000, p. 1395) indexed no longer at the level of the population and its macro-management and optimization. This is a ‘politics of life’ which is ethically grounded and whose target is the (perceived and anticipated) self-determining, self-improving and autonomy aspiring selves, communities and institutions of civil society.

By ethopolitics I mean to characterise the ways in which the ethos of human existence – the sentiments, moral nature, or guiding beliefs of persons, groups, or institutions – have come to provide the “medium” within which the self-government of the autonomous individual can be connected up with the imperatives of good government ... If discipline individualizes and normalizes, and bio-power collectivizes and socializes, ethopolitics concerns itself with the self-techniques by which human beings should judge themselves and act upon themselves to make themselves better than they are.

(Rose, 2001, p. 18)

Ethopolitics thus describes ‘the relocation of government from questions of rational administration to those of everyday morality and ethics’ (Pathak, 2014, p. 90), although the extent to which this describes a wholly ‘new’ process is open to some doubt.⁷⁸ Nonetheless, this kind of ethical relocation can be observed in the policy present, and that includes Teach First and its vision, mission and community, and some of the work that the organisation does on the participants and its other target populations, as I will come back to in a moment. But first one should qualify that ‘ethopolitics merely names a space of political debate, strategy, and technique’ and ‘can take many forms’ (Rose, 2000, p. 1399). New Labour’s ‘community-oriented’ *Third Way* and the Conservative’s *Big Society* are just two contemporary examples, and historically speaking we can also add Thatcherism and the post-war *ordo-liberal vitalpolitik* and its ‘policy of society’ (*Gesellschaftspolitik*), the latter of which I explored in relation to the emergence and development of neo-liberalism in **Part 1**. Recapitulating very briefly, the *vitalpolitik* was not only about generalising an enterprise form throughout society, and constructing a state in the image of the market: it also involved a form of *ethopolitics* which, as Foucault (2010, p. 148) puts it, sought ‘the organic reconstruction of society on the basis of natural communities, families, and neighbourhoods’. This was a matter, according to Ropke, of ‘shifting the centre of gravity of governmental action downwards’ (as cited in Foucault, *ibid*, p. 148). The *vitalpolitik* was in this sense a moral and cultural programme designed, in part at least, to alleviate the destructive effects of the market. It is for this reason that Foucault suggested that the *ordo-liberals* articulated an ‘ambivalent’ position – a ‘policy for the market and against the market’ (p. 242) – although, as already noted, some argue that this was more about securing the moral, ethical and affective foundations upon which market freedoms could be exercised (see, for instance, Bonefeld, 2012; Wörsdörfer, 2013).⁷⁹ Certainly today, the market is invoked in the form of self-help manuals and life coaches, as I look at in relation to Teach First

⁷⁸ In some ways, the concept of ethopolitics is a restatement of some of Foucault’s arguments in *Madness and Civilisation* and even *Discipline and Punish*.

⁷⁹ This could also be usefully theorised in relation to Bernstein’s (2000) ‘prospective identities’, whereby ‘features of the past [are] selected [for] creat[ing] what [are] considered to be appropriate attitudes, dispositions and performances relevant to a market culture and reduced welfare state’ (p. 68). Also see Moore’s (2015) application of this concept, including Bernstein’s (2000) ‘retrospective identities’, to Thatcherite and Blairite curriculum policy.

below (also see **Part 2**). The body and its genetic vitality are also now opportunities for profit (pharmaceuticals; insurance and health companies).

These historical and contemporary rationalities and programmes of government animate and are animated by a conception of the governable person as one who desires personal autonomy as a right (Rose, 2000, p. 1399). Importantly, however, Rose (ibid, p. 1399) also adds that 'autonomy does not imply that individuals live their lives as atomized isolates'. It is in this sense that he suggests, firstly, that *community* is now a privileged *object* and *target* of contemporary modes of governmentality, and secondly, that these community based modes serve to displace the collective, and that is social, forms of government associated with the welfare state. Hence, the governable subject is, to some extent at least, no longer the *social* citizen of the national community, but the one of local and identity based associations, neighbourhoods and *communities*:

It is from these communities that autonomous, free-dom aspiring individuals are thought to derive the guidelines, techniques, and aspirations by which they think about and enact their freedom ... Ethopower works through the values, beliefs and sentiments thought to underpin the techniques of responsible self-government and the management of one's obligations to others.

(Rose, ibid, p. 1399)

Ethopolitics thus involves new kinds of governmental and bio-political relations, associated new images of the subjects and objects of government, and an army of therapeutic and ethical/somatic experts – 'professionals of vitality' (Rose, 2001, p. 22) – considered (and who consider themselves) qualified to speak and instruct its truths. It 'entails a self-shaping and self-judgement by individuals in a relational dialogue with experts in a kind of fuzzy zone between coercion and consent in which choice is guided and shaped' (Dean, 2007, pg. 155), and is associated with the view that '[s]ociety is to be regenerated, and social justice to be maximized, through the rebuilding of responsible communities, prepared to invest in themselves' (Miller and Rose, 2013, pg. 90). We can now even download a whole range of 'apps' to help us do this ourselves. One example is 'Mappiness', which collects information on when and where 'users' are 'happy' and 'happiest'.⁸⁰ It is in this way, moreover, that Rose's *ethopolitics* overlaps with, nourishes and finds support in the active, responsible and

⁸⁰ See: <http://www.mappiness.org.uk/>

enterprising subject of neo-liberalism. However, we should also add, as Lemke (2011, p. 103) qualifies, that ‘it remains unclear to what extent bio-politics merges with ethopolitics’, and there are certainly analytical problems in reducing bio-politics to the life-choices and aspirations of individuals and groups.

Nonetheless, there *is* a kind of vital politics – at least for some – in the contemporary policy terrain. It is manifest in the shift from government to governance, the resurgence of philanthropy and social enterprise, and the responsabilising and moral tones of Corporate Social Responsibility, voluntarism and localism (Ball and Junemann, 2011). These rhetoric’s and incitements are articulated, as mentioned, in the *Big Society* programme and its necessary correlate the *broken society* – constituting another *negative image* – and the academy and free-school programmes, along with other policy networks such as Teach First, are particular examples in education (for a demographic study of the free schools programme, see Higham, 2014). In some ways this is the work and strategy of the partnering, facilitating, or indeed, ‘*animator state*’ (Donzelot and Estebe, 1994), whereby formerly state responsibilities are shifted ‘downwards’ onto civil society and the autonomous, self-actualizing citizen (Lister, 2011, p. 74). Ball and Junemann (2012, p. 136, citing Rose, 1999, p. 475) note:

Together, these commitments and incitements constitute a very particular version of what Rose, after Foucault, calls ‘etho-politics’ – drawing on and engendering civility, trust, community feelings, voluntary endeavour and ‘engagement in the collective destiny in the interests of economic advancement, civil stability, even justice and happiness’.

Teach First is itself a particular form of *ethopolitics*, and one which of course plugs into and vitalises the broader schemes and programmes just mentioned. I have already indicated in previous chapters the responsabilising, moral and enterprising tones, tropes and rhetoric of the programme, and how it presents itself as a necessary and moral movement of and for educational change (‘working together to shape the future of education’). The enterprise offers the participants the chance to make a social difference whilst also ‘getting on’ with their own careers – ‘change their lives and change yours’ – and is described in a recent recruitment brochure as ‘The single most important thing you will ever do’. The experience even helped one ambassador to realise ‘that educational disadvantage [is] far more of a problem than I thought’

(Teach First website), which gives us an indication of the ethical and enlightened self-improvement – even redemption – that the programme appears to offer its recruits.

We can also emphasise that Teach First is a *community* comprised, supposedly at least, of committed individuals, institutions and organisations around a shared cause.

Being a Teach First Ambassador first and foremost means being part of a community of individuals that have a shared experience of teaching in an urban complex school, and as a result a shared commitment to education.

(Director of Ambassadors, Teach First website)⁸¹

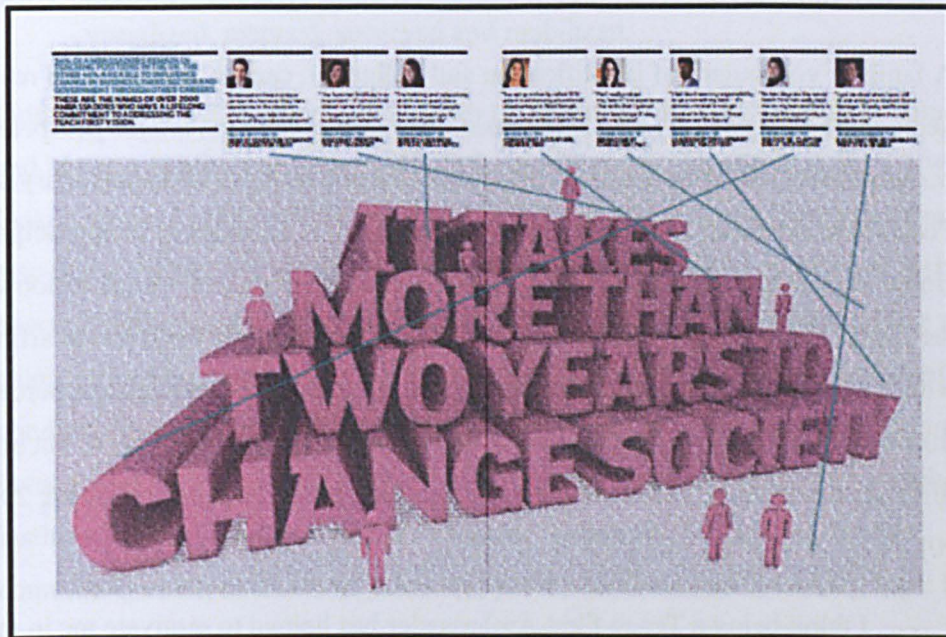


Figure 8.4. Teach First Brochure: An ethopolitical community?

Consider also Figure 8.4.; here we see ‘the names of over 2000 ambassadors’ representing the vitality of the community and its affective associations. These people, whose names form here a kind of *vital collage*, ‘have a lifelong commitment to addressing the Teach First vision’, and a select few cases are highlighted and picked out at the top of the page to communicate the work and ethos of the

⁸¹ See: <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/home>

community from the words and perspectives – and career locations – of some of its molecular and, we could say, *vital subjects*. For example:

I felt like it was my responsibility to give something back – it's almost criminal to not get involved in the vision. These children are the future.

(Ambassador '08 – Leadership Development Officer, Teach First)

The Summer Institute is so important – it's where that shared sense of purpose is forged and you start building your networks.

(Ambassador '04 – Assistant Principle, The City Academy)

Ambassadors have a unique perspective because they have experience in the classroom which they can take into other sectors of the professional world.

(Ambassador '03 – Head of Education Strategy, CfBT Education Trust)

A familiar vocabulary of identification and obligation can be observed and rehearsed here: *shared purpose, shared experience, shared commitment, unique perspective, my responsibility, building your networks, part of a community*. This vocabulary animates Teach First artefacts, but it also animates the personal accounts of the participants and ambassadors themselves. In **Part 2** I noted the claiming of, and identification with, the Teach First values – 'our values', 'it's like a brand' – and the sense of affiliation with the other participants – 'all there for the same reasons' – and even a perceived 'like-mindedness'. Teach First is not simply a 'moral community', then, but also a 'lifestyle community' and a 'community of commitment' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 90).

I think being a Teach First Ambassador has helped to motivate me in my day to day here at Jamie's Farm because my experience on Teach First really instilled me with a belief that there was a duty amongst Teach Firsters really to change the face of education.

(Teach First Ambassador, and founder of the social enterprise Jamie's Farm)

The Teach First community, then, evinces something of the 'changed ethical character' of government (Rose, 1996a). The participants/ambassadors are not only self-responsible, but also form part of a moral and affective community of allegiance, affinity and obligation. This is the 'duty amongst Teach Firsters', as they are also referred and identify themselves, 'to change the face of education' and 'society'. At the same time, the whole language of the community 'also implicates a psychology of

identification', in which 'Community proposes a relation that appears less "remote", more "direct", one which occurs not in the "artificial" political space of society, but in matrices of affinity that appear more natural' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 91). We only need turn to the ambassador logo at the top of this chapter as an indication of the supposedly *organic* work, values and affiliations of the community, which are represented by the image of a *dandelion*. Rose (1999, pp. 188-189) cautions, however, that

[f]or those who advocate an anti-politics of community, civil society or the third sector, part of the political attraction of these zones lies in their apparent naturalness: their non-political or pre-political status. But like the social before them, these 'third spaces' of thought and action have to be made up. Boundaries and distinctions have to be emplaced; these spaces have to be visualized, mapped, surveyed and mobilized.

Indeed, a great deal of work (and money) goes into to the construction of community and identity (Miller and Rose, 2013, ref), and I have explored this in Part 2 where I looked at some of the solicitations and activations of the Teach First programme. I also noted there some of the policing of the community, which is in some instances enacted by the participants themselves. Community-based governmentalities are characterised by 'new forms of authority' and 'new forces in the governing of conduct' (Rose, 1999, p. 189). The point is that while the naturalness of community is invoked, community is itself a fabrication and governmental encounter which must be instituted, defined, policed and demarcated. 'Within such a style of thought, community exists and is to be achieved, yet the achievement is nothing but a birth-to-presence of a form of being which pre-exists' (Miller and Rose, 2013, p. 92).

In the next section I explore more carefully some of the ways in which the Teach First identity, or *form of life*, is animated or embodied in the participants, and especially those practices which oblige the potential recruits to speak the truth about themselves in accordance with authoritative discourses and registers of conduct. Before coming to that, however, I should emphasise that, set within this new diagram of *ethopolitical* force relations, is the targeting and attempted correction of others deemed in some ways ethically indisposed. In the case of Teach First, this is the *disadvantaged child*, along with their families and communities, but also the conduct of the *teacher*, which I come back to later on. Dukelow (2004, p. 28) argues, for example, that ethopolitics is implicated in 'the increasing links made between lack of self-esteem and

confidence, and problems such as unemployment, crime and so on. The task of government, then, becomes one of instilling the belief that raising individual and community self-worth will serve to solve such problems'. Berlant's (2006, p. 21) 'cruel optimism' is also relevant here in that it refers to 'the condition of maintaining an attachment to a problematic object *in advance* of its loss'. It is telling that the policy arm of Teach First – *Policy First* – published a report titled *Ethos and Culture in Challenging Circumstances* (2010).⁸² In it, one ambassador is quoted as saying that 'Teachers are, I believe, like the *front line ethos troops in a school*' (p. 35), and another suggests that

For challenging urban schools where the ethos and culture in the local community is not positive, it is perhaps the role of the school to try and influence the community's ethos.

(p. 37)

Of course, we saw in the previous chapter the kind of ethical work that Teach First does on the *disadvantaged child*, and it is not necessary to rehearse that here. The Teach First *politics of vitality* (and fatality) is also implicated in the demonization and fabrication of malignant (or *not positive*) ethical communities. Indeed, whilst the promises of *ethopolitics* are seductive, careful attention must be paid to those more or less authoritarian practices and techniques that identify and attempt to intervene upon those 'who have somehow failed to comport themselves ethically ... [and which] are designed to transform the habits of individuals and populations seen vulnerable to particular risks or who have some sort of deficiency' (Inda, 2006, p. 31). It is not my intention to undermine the important work that teachers and schools do for their local communities, including those affiliated with Teach First. However – and I bracket off the apparent *presumption* of ethical pathology here – the policy history of the present is, as we have seen, dogged by abjection and exclusion, and careful thought and attention must be given to the damaging effects of economic globalisation on communities, of which I gave some examples in **Part 1** and **Part 2**. Whilst ethical programmes of empowerment certainly have value, careful attention must be given to the ways in which responsibility is *allocated*, and how these new fabrications of self-responsibility are brought to bear upon the governing of self and others. Villadsen

⁸² Supported by the Sutton Trust and PricewaterhouseCoopers, and researched, written and edited by Teach First ambassadors.

(2007a) argues that programmes which emphasise and seek to intervene upon the self-relation of the individual are often today bound up with a form of 'neo-philanthropy'. This envisions a 'generalized subject, characterized by a universal subjectivity, "one which applies to all individuals and yet to no one in particular"' (ibid, p. 317, citing, Philp, 1979, p. 91). The fabrication of a particular form of self-responsible and self-actualising human-kind assumes the powerlessness and impotency of those targeted, at the same time as soliciting an authorised way of being which 'subscribes to quite specific conceptions of the immanent qualities and potential which are to be empowered ... [and found] hiding behind negative or uncooperative attitudes' (Villadsen, 2007a, p. 317). At the same time, this is also an example of the disconnect between the programmatic and the 'real', and in particular the ways in which empowerment is *qualitative* rather than *quantitative* (Cruikshank, 1999), or *ethical* rather than *material*.

As with other modalities of power which I have explored in previous chapters, then, *ethopower* is set within a wider and historical context of practices and effects. Lemke (2011, p. 103) emphasises, for instance, that *ethopolitics* and 'the ethical questions it addresses are bound to material [and we could also add cultural] conditions of life that are unavailable to millions around the world who must fight every day to survive'. From this perspective, *ethopolitics* is a kind of 'lifestyle politics for privileged insiders' (Dean, 2013, p. 93; also see Hannah, 2011), and as Braun critically argues, one is forced to question 'whether the conditions of ethopolitics – for secure bodies that are open to "improvement" – include the extension of sovereign power elsewhere in the name of security' (2007, p. 25). Braun suggests that it is necessary to think about *ethopolitics* and what he calls 'biosecurity' (p. 14) together, and we can think about the security practices of Teach First, explored in the previous chapter, as an instance, at least of a kind, of the latter.

The point is that there is an 'other side' to these kinds of biological or ethical life-and self-enhancing practices. One could consider as an example in the current policy context the more dubious (and some might say *ethically* and *morally* corrupt) practices of some of Teach First's corporate partners and sponsors, who are in many ways vital for the organisations survival; their money, for example, is invested into the *LDP* and the 'expression machine', and they also provide other resources,

infrastructure and expertise. A recent article in the *Guardian* newspaper,⁸³ for instance, refers to 'a report by the ... Commons public accounts committee', which found that:

The so-called 'big four' accountancy firms are using knowledge gained from staff seconded to the Treasury to help wealthy clients avoid paying UK taxes ... Deloitte, Ernst & Young, KPMG and PricewaterhouseCoopers have provided the government with expert accountants to draw up tax laws. But the firms went on to advise multinationals and individuals on how to exploit loopholes around legislation they had helped to write.

There is also the shady financial transactions of a number of academies and chain providers,⁸⁴ and the recent multi-billion dollar legal settlement paid by the commercial and high-street bank (and policy player), HSBC, for (wittingly or not) laundering money from Mexican drug cartels. As I write, other suspect and irregular tax-avoidance practices associated with the bank and some of its clients have come to light. Finally, it should be added that in maintaining a more or less optimistic view of these post-social, community-oriented relations of power, in which 'it is possible for subjects to distance themselves from the cohesive discourse and strategies of the social state ... and invent themselves, individually and collectively, as new kinds of political actors' (Rose, 1996a, p. 179), Rose himself appears to nourish a fatal conception of the state, and a (neo-) liberal conception of the vitality of civil society. Villadsen and Dean (2012) point out some of the 'political costs' in rejecting or displacing knowledges of the social state, and knowledge of society and social structure. For them, and importantly, the questions and problems posed by *ethopolitics*, and their re-routing and animation through community-based modes of governmentality, undermine political questions concerning, for example, the distribution of wealth and public resources, and the securing of universal standards of welfare. It is for this reason, they suggest, that 'the "birth of community" seems to suffer from the same troubling fit with neoliberal strategies for dismantling welfare services and solidifying social segregation ...' (p. 142), and reflects, according to Clarke, the 'wider erosion of the political in contemporary neo-liberal society' (2012, p. 300). This latter point is important because *ethopolitics* and its associated

⁸³ See: <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2013/apr/26/accountancy-firms-knowledge-treasury-avoid-tax>

⁸⁴ See Greany and Scott's (2014) report which investigated 'conflicts of interest in academy sponsorship arrangements'.

governance or governmentality subverts, or better, sublimates democratic decision-making and participation into individualised and depoliticised forms of action. Whilst the Teach First community presents itself as a moral movement of educational reform – and this is not to undervalue the work that the organisation does – its vitalising of technocratic and ‘what works’ policy serves a broader political shift in which the terms and forums of debate and engagement in social and public decision-making are situated away from local communities and representatives, and hence undermines the possibilities for more democratic participation. Drawing on Latour (2007), it can be further added that the *ethopolitics* of Teach First manifests ‘another meaning of political’, and that is the posing of problems and social issues, such as *educational disadvantage* and *educational reform*, as ‘non-political’ (p. 817). This is bound up with a broader process of welfare reform in which the depoliticisation of governance arrangements has mobilised and legitimated non-state, private actors in the ‘improvement’ and ‘modernisation’ of services. In this process – which again relates to Peck and Tickell’s (2002) ‘roll-back’ and ‘roll-out’ neo-liberalism – welfare provision, including education policy, has ‘stopped being political, at least for a while’, and has become ‘part of the daily routine of administration and management’ (Latour, 2007, p. 817). But it would be wrong to conclude that there isn’t a political side to this kind of ‘non-politics’: it is itself a form of *re-politicisation* in which public values are replaced by private values ‘as the most important aspects of what we mean by living together’ (Latour, *ibid*, p. 817), and in which democratic and collective participation are held as antithetical to ‘improvement’, ‘modernisation’ and ‘growth’. Clarke (2012, p. 298) puts this accordingly:

[C]ontemporary neoliberal discourses, for example, those around issues of standards and accountability, are typically presented by politicians and policy makers as matters of technical efficiency rather than normative choices. As a consequence their political nature, including the deep implication of these discourses with issues of socio-political power, is effectively backgrounded.

2. *Technologies of animation*

Politics disposes not only of direct forms of authoritative command but also of indirect mechanisms for inciting and directing, preventing and predicting, moralizing and normalizing. Politics can prescribe and prohibit, but it can also incite and initiate, discipline and supervise, or *activate and animate*.

(Lemke, 2011, p. 117, *my italics*)

In this section I try to demonstrate how Teach First not only activates and solicits the conduct of the governed, as explored in **Part 2**, but also *animates* forms of valued life amongst others. This will involve conceptualising the Teach First assessment process – mainly conducted over the course of one day at the *Teach First assessment centre* (incidentally funded by the corporate sponsors, and situated in the new business district in London Bridge) – as a *technology of animation*. Put differently, I consider the assessment process as a technology of the self whereby the (potential) participants are *obligated*, under the scrutiny of authority and according to authoritative discourses, to constitute or animate themselves as particular kinds of subjects. Whilst the Teach First self is complex and multifaceted, as explored in previous chapters, I will comment especially here on the animation of a *resilient* and *emotionally intelligent* form of life and subjectivity. In doing this I will also be identifying a ‘line of implication’ (Dean, 2002a) which connects these concerns to the *molecularization of life*, as above. It should be added that in what follows I will be thinking about two senses of the term *animate*: firstly, the fabrication of inauthentic selves in the sense of ‘cartoons’; secondly, I take seriously the sixteenth century sense of the term, and that is ‘the action of imparting life’ (Etymology Online).⁸⁵

Animating the (Teach First) self

I have already noted Rose’s argument that *ethopolitics* rests upon and is characterised by a vital politics of self-optimization and self-ascription, supported and operationalised by a market of ethical and somatic pastors and technologies of the self. I have suggested that Teach First is itself a particular kind of (therapeutic, worldly) pastor and community which offers its members opportunities to work on themselves and others in particular ways. In **Part 2**, for instance, I tried to show how the LDP and the ‘challenging’ experience of the ‘two years’ is about working on the self, and that is as both an economic-rational and responsible-moral subject of interest and civility. I noted how the programme also invites and obliges individuals to engage in self-problematization through techniques of self-management, self-improvement and self-care. This is evident, for instance, in the pedagogical components on ‘leading

⁸⁵ <http://www.etymonline.com>

and managing yourself', where the participants attend 'facilitated sessions to help them understand their emotions, strengths, motives and values and how these influence the choices they make';⁸⁶ in this instance the facilitators included management consultants and gurus, and various 'leaders' from the public, third and private sectors – a 'market of authorities' (Shamir, 2008b, p. 374). I have also previously examined how an *archetypal form* is solicited in various media, and activated at various affective and pedagogical sites of engagement. This is the exceptional and enterprising, risky, resilient and responsible, and moral, ascetic and agile teacher-leader of the post-welfare state; what I have described as a *hyper-performative* teacher, a molecular subject of neo-liberal capital, and worldly pastor and 'ethos troop' of the young and disadvantaged (and their *indispositional communities*).

What I want to do now is to examine more closely some of the techniques whereby this form of life is *animated* by Teach First, and particularly those practices which *oblige* the candidates, or potential participants, to describe, understand and speak the truth about themselves and their conduct in circumscribed ways. This will require a partial shift in focus, then, from technologies of activation and solicitation, to those of *animation*, and that is to say, from those techniques which solicit ways of living and being, including how one *should* feel and conduct and understand oneself, to those which oblige one to demonstrate and to affirm, to both oneself and to others, how one *does* conduct and understand oneself (these techniques are, however, interrelated). In this sense, the assessment centre deploys current management techniques that 'make the employee speak' (Villadsen, 2007b, p. 4), in a similar way to Christian confessional practices. Whilst I suggest, and have already indicated, that there is an embodied aspect to this – i.e. the values '*becoming your natural way of working*' – I also appreciate that this is an incomplete, ongoing and *performative* process – i.e. '*I was able to distance myself from the competencies*' (also see below).

The *authoritative* animation of the (Teach First) self can be observed in the assessment process, which includes the initial application form, the interview and the other activities at the assessment centre whereby potential participants are tested and evaluated as being suitable or not for the programme. These activities or practices

⁸⁶ <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/OurWork/Programme.aspx>

involve forms of truth-telling, rather like, as noted, the confessional practices which so interested Foucault. These are “the various operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being” that people make either by themselves or with the help of others in order to transform themselves to reach a “state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality” (Besley, 2005, p. 78, citing Foucault, 1988, p. 18). One example is the self-reflection on the *mini-lesson*; the candidates are asked to reflect upon themselves and their practice, including what they thought had gone well, and what they could have done better.⁸⁷ The Teach First ‘self-evaluation’ competency reads:

Personal development is vital for long term success. You will need to be aware of your performance, your strengths and your weaknesses and you will need to be realistic in what and how you can do better.⁸⁸

But there are other technologies of truth-telling at play here. The candidates are judged and assessed against a number of authoritative criteria, reflected in the *Teach First competencies and values*. As a *Teach First* assessor explained in an interview:

I think the assessment process is quite clever now I’m working within it ... Yeah basically every competency is assessed twice, *you have to get a certain score to reach the Teach First standard* and if you meet that once across a competency then that’s enough for you to be on. But say if you’ve ... the two times that we assess it, if you’ve not met it, you could be like one point off, you just don’t go through, even if you’ve had more strengths in different areas of the day. So *you might have shown yourself* to excel in everything but you haven’t shown that you can do self-evaluations and then you just don’t get on.

In order to achieve the *Teach First standard*, the candidates must demonstrate the requisite comportments and competencies which Teach First solicits as essential for being a successful and effective teacher (see Part 2). ‘The goal of the process’, as Brett Wigdortz (2012, p. 144) explains, ‘is to give candidates as many opportunities as possible to prove to us that they have all the competencies we are looking for at the level that we think is necessary to be a successful classroom leader’.

So we had an application that we had to fill out which was kind of like online, and they were fairly in-depth questions and I think *trying to find out about your personality*, having to *give examples of where you’d showed, I don’t*

⁸⁷ This is not unique to Teach First; reflective practice, as it is called, forms a key technology in the governing of the teacher.

⁸⁸ <http://graduates.teachfirst.org.uk/application-selection/requirements>

know, commitment or where you showed resilience in life, and so on and so forth.

(Jane, participant, interview)

Well they showed all the qualities of what they were looking for. It was all the, like, leadership and commitment and dedication and all these buzzwords and you had to sort of fit a story to each of them and then I was going through all the things that I'd done in the past and then I thought well actually I've done more than I'd realised ... So yeah I think that brought my confidence up and I thought well actually maybe I am the type of character that they may want.

(Rebecca, participant, interview)

The 'buzzwords' – or the *competencies and values* – are important here because they constitute not only a 'psychology of identification' (Miller and Rose, 2013), as above, but also articulate a *discourse of vitality* which the candidates *must* understand and position themselves in relation to. This is the demonstration of the 'character' and 'personality' that Teach First 'are looking for', of 'fitting a story' to one's previous life experiences and conduct, and 'realising' the valued 'qualities' that one has shown in the past. In other words, this is, as Ball (2013, p. 127, citing Foucault, 1982, p. 208) puts it, 'the "way a human being turns him– or herself into a subject"; for example, how people have learned to recognize themselves as subjects of sexuality or as enterprising subjects'. Ortega (2014, p. 82) adds, furthermore, that "Making up people" entails the creation of descriptive or diagnostic categories through expert knowledge; individuals assimilate these categories into their descriptions and practices of the self ...'. It is through techniques such as these, as Dean (2010, p. 14) neatly qualifies, that 'our understanding of ourselves is linked', perhaps inextricably, 'to the ways in which we are governed'. The fabrication of the 'story' and the 'realisation' of the competencies in understanding the self, renders the individual intelligible within a certain grid of knowledge and power. The individual is incited to speak the truth about themselves, which also ties them to their own words.

Perhaps one of the dangers here is that the individual 'can be held responsible for a truth that he has stated about who is' (Villadsen, 2007b, p. 4), and I have noted previously some of the ramifications of this for the Teach First participants when they experience difficulties on the programme ('You knew what you were getting yourself into, you signed up for this, end of ...'). As a brief aside, it is interesting how a former participant described in an article in the *Independent* how they had been 'effectively

forced out of the teaching profession' due to the constant performative demands and pressures. They cite the inadequacy of 'resilience' and 'work ethic' as mitigating 'qualities':

Under the current Government and through my training route, Teach First, there has been an increased sense of prestige accompanying teaching as a graduate career, previously only associated with corporate grad schemes. Also seemingly borrowed from the corporate sector, however, is a perverse sense that 'resilience' and work ethic are the most desirable qualities in new teachers, over empathy, flexible thought, and even being properly qualified, as if a job being punishing is what makes it worth doing.⁸⁹

My point for now, however, is that there is something authoritarian about the Teach First *discourse of vitality* and the assessment encounter more generally, and that is because one has no option – if one wants to be successful or included – but to reveal oneself as prompted and solicited. 'First and foremost, we have here a discourse that is authoritarian: one has to express oneself, one has to speak, communicate, cooperate, and so forth' (Lazzarato, 1996, p. 135).

So the assessment process involves technologies of the self whereby individuals are obligated to animate, shape or constitute themselves in particular ways in relation to discourse (Gillies, 2013). From this perspective, Teach First is just one of a 'host of general technologies', as Inda notes, 'that aim to animate the self-governing capacities of the population at large [by] *delineating certain mores, standards, and practices* that individuals can adopt to actively craft a self ...' (2006, p. 30, my italics). In the context of Teach First, this is consolidated and repeated in other, more or less authoritative sites and spaces, and that is the various activations and solicitations, and the training, that I have explored already. This includes the Summer Institute, the annual conference and other affective events which, we might say, provide conduits for what Begg (2012) calls an 'affective bio-power' which, for her, appropriates and exploits affective life and 'productive sociality' – aspects of which I looked at in relation to Teach First in Part 2 – and, I might add, inspires forms of valued life amongst others. It is in this latter sense that there is perhaps something in Hardt's

⁸⁹ <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/schools/a-teacher-speaks-out-im-effectively-being-forced-out-of-a-career-that-i-wanted-to-love-9695706.html>

(1999, p. 98) argument that 'Bio-power is the power of the creation of life; it is the production of collective subjectivities, sociality, and society itself'.

It is important to emphasise that the competencies and values are not simply words; they are merely the tip of the iceberg of a discourse or set of discourses which determine both the sensible and the necessary, or what is true and what is false, what can be said with authority about ourselves and others, about the problems that we face and which need to be tackled, and the solutions deemed most suitable or effective for addressing them. I have of course already explored the *archetypal form* and its genealogy in a number of directions (i.e. pastorate, 'good puritan', moral and bio-political agent, neo-liberal *signature*), and in the next section I will discuss the ecological roots of *resilience* and some of its implications for contemporary (educational) bio-politics and political subjectivity. But it is interesting to note for now that *resilience* is an increasingly popular discourse in modern management, and has made its way into educational thinking. The recently appointed Secretary of State for Education, Nicky Morgan, has unveiled her first significant policy which aims to insert 'Character Education' into the school curriculum, and which foregrounds competencies such as *grit*, *determination* and *resilience*. These 'traits' and 'behaviours', alongside academic ability, supposedly 'underpin success in work and school' (DfE website).⁹⁰

O'Malley (2010) traces the discourse of resilience and its emergence within *cognitive behavioural therapy* and, interestingly, as applied in the training of US military personnel (resiliency training).⁹¹ It posits a set of cognitive and behavioural competencies which can be learned and improved, such as innovativeness, enterprise, responsibility, agility and flexibility. O'Malley concludes that resilience 'now takes its place as part of a complex of scientifically grounded techniques of the self necessary to optimize autonomous subjects in an age of high uncertainty' (p. 488), and Joseph notes how resilience is a form of 'embedded governmentality' which emphasises individual responsibility and adaptability in a protracted period of 'destatification' which has seen a 'neo-liberal assault on the institutions of the post-war settlement' (Joseph, 2013, p. 42). Indeed, I explored this in **Part 2** in relation to

⁹⁰ <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/dfe-character-awards-application-window-now-open>

⁹¹ Armed forces personnel are also being invited into schools as part of *Character Education*.

the Teach First programme and the ontology and politics of neo-liberalisation more broadly. It is certainly significant, then, that resilience is considered a particularly vital quality by Teach First and the assessors:

I think partly they pick people that are *very resilient* ... We specifically ask people questions and put them in situations during the assessment centre where *we're testing how resilient they are* ... even when people are really keen and they want to do Teach First and then *if I just assess them and see that they've got a real area of concern, like they're not showing enough evidence of having really persevered and gone through something tough, then I will have a lot of reservations from just a duty of care*. Because I know how hard it is and if you haven't had the life experience or if you're maybe not strong enough – it's not to do with being a strong person – but anybody who has kind of got a propensity to be extremely self-critical and maybe get depressed would really struggle because there are dark times in Teach First.

(Interview, Teach First assessor)

Resiliency also overlaps with recent concerns for 'emotional intelligence' in the contemporary workplace. Also deriving from *cognitive behavioural psychology*, and popularised in the 'pseudoscientific' claims of psychologists such as Daniel Goleman, emotional intelligence posits a set of skills, competencies and comportments which enable an individual to regulate their own (and others) emotions: self-awareness, self-regulation, social skill, empathy and motivation. These competencies are viewed as both innate/inherited (genetic), but also as acquired and open to improvement. At the *assessment centre*, and particularly the *group case study*, Teach First candidates are evaluated in terms of their ability to handle themselves appropriately in emotionally charged and challenging environments, and that includes working effectively as part of a team and being both determined and diplomatic when arguing a point of view. According to Bret Wigdortz (2012, p. 145), the *case study* 'helps us understand their ability to work with others, ideally while showing a balance of our competencies of "interaction" "resilience" and "humility"'. In the interview, the candidates must also demonstrate an understanding and a commitment – a passion – towards the values and objectives of the mission. Again, this is a matter of the candidates 'showing' an understanding of themselves, and of the 'challenges' and 'difficulties' that they believe they will face, which again ties them to their own words. A Teach First assessor explained in an interview:

They've got to show a real understanding of what the mission is, they've got to show an appreciation for the kind of difficulties they'll experience in a

Teach First school, they've got to show that they completely understand the situations they might be put in and that they understand why those situations have arisen and maybe a respect and an appreciation for the challenges that they'll face.

Zembylas (2005) points to the normativity of these emotional (managerial) skills and techniques of the self, which, as I have already indicated, form a key part of the pedagogical components of the LDP (see Part 2). He suggests that they are tied to 'the acquisition of skills [and dispositions] that take advantage of biological potential', whereby individuals 'learn "appropriate" social behaviours' (p. 167). For Clegg and Baumeler (2014, p. 47), '[these] are closely linked to entrepreneurial aims of maximizing profit and doing so through committed, project-based and self-managing subjects'. Emotional intelligence is in this sense a 'technique of subjectification' which fits nicely in with the post-Fordist capital-work relations, and the governing of affect, explored previously (Part 2). It impresses upon people the need to be active and to work on themselves in order to 'facilitate success at work' (Clegg and Baumeler, 2014, p. 47). This is the animation, then, of a subject who is aware of their own emotional needs, and obligated to harness, optimize and regulate their own emotional states of being in order to make themselves more durable, especially in (and for) the workplace of 'liquid modernity' (Bauman, 2000). In the 'liquid organisation', individuals must now shape and modify themselves and their lifestyles 'in accordance with the changing demands of the political-economic environment' (Clegg and Baumeler, 2014, p. 47).

Understood in this more critical way, then, we can begin to problematize how popular discourses on resilience and emotional intelligence constitute at least one version, or aspects, of the 'good liberal citizen' and the 'productive worker' (Zembylas, 2005, p. 167). At the same time, there is a 'line of implication' (Dean, 2002a) which links emotional intelligence/resilience to the *molecularization of life* noted above. Indeed, these are dispositions and 'qualities' which are explored by the neurosciences and rendered open to improvement via *psychopharmacology* (drug treatment) and *cognitive behavioural therapy* (mindfulness), whereby neuro-emotional processes and 'brain circuits' can be regulated, trained, rewired and augmented, which again links back to the 'plastic brain'. As the consultancy firm *Tougher Minds* – which offers *Brain Management Programmes* and consultancy services to various organisations

and individuals, and whose motto is 'Developing high-performing people' – suggests on its website:

Self-control abilities are not a case of nature verses nurture, but nature plus nurture, where environments can be as deterministic as we once believed only genes could be, and the genome can be as malleable as we once believed only environments could be ... [N]eurobiological evidence shows that brain circuits underlying self-control are highly plastic, and can change in response to practice.⁹²

Tougher Minds boasts a client base which includes businesses such as *Deloitte*, but also universities, professional sport associations and teams, schools and, yes, *Teach First*. This is hence an instance of the ways in which Teach First invokes a neuronal conception of the self (Pitts-Taylor, 2010), an object and fabrication which forms a key object and target of the LDP and the assessment centre.

Before moving on – and there are certainly more questions and possibilities for further study opening up here, rather than answers – I should underline that in the context of the micro-politics of Teach First and the assessment process, but also in some ways more broadly, the Teach First *vocabulary* or *discourse of vitality* makes claims about and fabricates the body and vitality of the teacher. It determines '[w]hat forms of life are regarded as socially valuable and which are considered', and only in a very particular sense, "'not worth living'" (Lemke, 2011, p. 119). Indeed, one might say that the assessment process, again in a very particular sense, arbitrates over 'the value or non-value of life' (Dean, 2007, p. 188). Teach First and its assessors are in this instance *delegates of sovereignty*, or 'petty sovereigns' (Butler, 2006) who not only guard and police a threshold to a way of living and being, but also arbitrate over the life-form of the effective teacher, including its exceptions. This is perhaps not such a surprising conclusion, not least if one takes seriously the idea that 'the decision on the exception is present in every normalizing power and expert knowledge by which liberal forms of governing carve out the life of the self-determining individual' (Dean, 2007, p. 189). In this instance, it is the carving of the self-determining, emotionally agile and resilient teacher-leader. The claim to the life of the candidate, and the decision on their suitability for the programme, manifests not only a bio-politics, then, but also a particular and 'immanent' form of (delegated) sovereignty

⁹² <http://www.tougherminds.co.uk/character-and-resilience/>

(Dean, 2013), and that is because the sovereign is, according to the political and juridical theorist Carl Schmitt (2005, p. 5), ‘he [sic] who decides the state of exception’.

Finally, I should emphasise that the animation of the Teach First self is of course contestable, contested and performative; the candidates are aware (and made aware) of what is required and expected of them in order to be ‘recognised’ and ‘included’, but this is perhaps at least part of the point. Brett Wigdortz (2012, p. 145) describes the ‘well-branded interview suite’ in the assessment centre, and explains that ‘While candidates are waiting, they take in Teach First’s messaging around educational disadvantage and how we want to catalyse change’. It is interesting that some of the participants that I interviewed noted the ‘forced’ nature of this process:

There were so many people there it’s really hard to know how well you’ve done especially when you have to – and I guess it’s the same with any of those assessments – but when you have to do the group situation thing, everyone sort of fighting for airtime. You’ve all been told ‘say you’ll be the timekeeper’ or ‘nod and agree when that person speaks’; it’s just a bit sort of ... *a bit forced*.

(Participant, interview)

Importantly, then, and as Gillies (2013, p. 15) qualifies, these kinds self-animating practices and technologies may involve ‘acts of compliance or resistance or they may be required of the self in order to be discursively included’. To be included is to meet, as noted, the ‘Teach First standard’, and that is the standardised form of the teacher – *the form of life* – that the organisation claims is best suited to survive the programme, but also to make a difference, to be effective and to contribute to the vitality of its (performative, political, policy) objectives.

3. Policy Ecology

I want to consider, for one last time, the image of the *dandelion*. As I have already suggested, this image serves to represent the organic and autonomous vitality of the Teach First community, and perhaps even the vitality of civil society itself. But the image is also symbolic or indicative of a kind of policy environmentalism, or *policy ecology*. In fact, this kind of ecological metaphor, imagery and vocabulary can be observed elsewhere in the policy terrain, and even in the accounts of some of my

interviewees. The National College for Teaching and Leadership (NCTL), for example, has published a recent pedagogical resource entitled *Identify and grow your own leaders* (2010), and also a recommendations paper called *Building sustainable school improvement through systems leadership and collaboration* (2012). Leaders, it appears, can be *grown*, and school improvement is an enterprise of and for *policy sustainability*. The Teach First business model is based upon ‘sustainable growth’, and the local strategy is about ensuring that ‘school partnerships, systems and processes are *developed in a sustainable way* that supports schools, pupils and participants to be successful in closing the gaps outlined in the 2022 Impact Goals’.⁹³ The LDP is even about training and preparing teachers ‘that have a *sustainable impact* on the pupils they teach’.⁹⁴ A Teach First ambassador explained:

It’s about sustainable change ... If you want to be making a real impact long-term I think the focus is now on getting people in schools and then giving them the skills that they need to become the middle managers and the leaders and driving the evolution of that school and the way that the vision is shaped. So it’s almost like they’re planting little seeds in schools that they’re hoping will become the leaders which is I think much more effective.

(Interview, Teach First ambassador)

This sustainable form of policy development is, of course, an instance of Peck and Tickell’s (2002) ‘roll-out’ neo-liberalism, Ball’s (2012) neo-liberal ‘curriculum of reform’, or Lazzarato’s (2009) ‘neo-liberalism in action’, all of which I have looked at previously. To put it rather bluntly, this is a *policy ecology* which animates and is animated by: a critique of the welfare state, including top-down and bureaucratic management; the shift from government to governance and the resurgence of social enterprise and philanthropy; the emergence of new policy objects, like Teach First, and their vital epistemological, material and symbolic networks and supply lines which span the public, private and third sectors; and the cultivating of new policy subjectivities, including the preparation, training and deployment (or *planting*) of resilient, risky and enterprising teacher-leader and policy selves.

⁹³ <http://www.teachfirst.org.uk/sites/default/files/TFpartnershipmanagerSC08122013.pdf>

⁹⁴ Taken from a Teach First job advertisement.

In the conclusion I will come back, amongst other things, to think about the forms of sustainable and unsustainable policy life that this ecology entails, and will suggest that in some ways Teach First is implicated in, and instrumental to, a policy environment characterised by *sustaining the unsustainable*. But first I want to draw this chapter to a close by exploring the genealogical interface between neo-liberalism and ecological reason, an interface which, I suggest, is articulated rather nicely in the Teach First *ambassador logo*. To do this, we need once again to revisit the theme of *resilience*.

The bio-politics of resilience

I tried to demonstrate in **Part 2** how Teach First solicits a resilient or even *very resilient* form of life which can, for example, adapt to the demands of the market, survive and learn to invest in the rigours and requirements of performativity, and function effectively and efficiently when deployed as ‘ethos troops’ and ‘worldly pastors’ in challenging and pathological environments. I have also tried to show how the participants are *activated and animated* as ‘resilient’ subjects, that is, how they are incited and obligated, amongst other things, to recognise, affirm and demonstrate to both themselves and to others that they are in fact resilient. But rather than resilience simply being a therapeutic discourse and technique of the self, it is also implicated in a broader bio-politics of human populations and their relationship to the environment, or the *biosphere*.

In his genealogy of the ‘nexus’ between, on the one hand, development discourses, and on the other, practices of liberal security, Reid (2013, p. 359) observes how the concept of resilience in fact ‘derives directly from ecology’. Resilience here refers to ‘the “buffer capacities” of living systems, their ability to “absorb perturbations,” or the “magnitude of disturbance that can be absorbed before a living system changes its structure by changing the variables and processes that control behaviour”’ (ibid, p. 359, citing Adger, 2000, p. 349). Crucially, Reid’s genealogy suggests that a concept of resilience not only emerges from environmental or ecological discourse, then, but also that it principally concerns the vitality and vulnerability of the *biosphere*. Threats to the resilience of the biosphere and all of its ‘living systems’, Reid adds moreover, became the referent of a critique of the destructive effects, from some environmental circles at least, of post-cold war economic development and unfettered capitalism.

Sustainable development started out by preaching that the economic development of societies must be regulated in order to contribute not just to the security of states and their human populations, but also to increase the resilience of all living systems; shifting the object of concern from human life to the biosphere, incorporating every known species, as well as habitats of all kinds, vulnerable to the destructions wrought by economic development. Life, not economy, it said, must provide the rationalities according to which peoples are entitled to increase their prosperity.

(ibid, p. 360)

Whilst the ecological concept of resilience initially informed a critique of practices which might impact upon the vitality of the *biosphere*, including neo-liberalism and its 'economic tsunami' (Ong, 2007, p. 3), the sustainable development discourse of which it was a part, for Reid, 'was always going to be vulnerable to appropriation by the economic rationalities of liberalism because of the interface between its "alternative" rationality of security and that of specifically neo-liberal doctrines of economy' (Reid, 2013, p. 354). That is to say that neo-liberalism was able to colonise and territorialise sustainable development discourse and politics 'on account of its claims not to the "security," but rather to the "resilience" of specifically neo-liberal institutions (significantly markets), systems of governance, and conditions of subjectivity' (p. 354-35). Indeed, the supposed resilience of neo-liberal institutions, practices and forms of personhood serve as a 'paragon of the resilience that sustainable development demands of its subjects' and, at the same time, is 'a vexed expression of the resilience of neo-liberalism' (Reid, ibid, pg. 355).

While sustainable development deploys ecological reason to argue for the need to secure the life of the biosphere, neo-liberalism prescribes economy as the very means of that security. Economic reason is conceived within neo-liberalism as a servant of ecological reason, claiming to *secure life from economy through a promotion of the capacities of life for economy*.

(Reid, ibid, pg. 354, *my italics*)

One current example of this is the independent think tank *SustainAbility*, which describes itself as 'a think tank and strategic advisory firm working to catalyze business leadership on sustainability'.⁹⁵ There is also an *ethopolitical* dimension to this in that the organisation works to 'help companies earn and maintain trust, innovate and lead the way to a just and sustainable future'. Another example is the

⁹⁵ <http://www.sustainability.com/>

Pearson Affordable Learning Fund (PALF), described as ‘a for-profit venture fund, in response to the vital market and government need for low-cost private education in the developing world’.⁹⁶ PALF is a venture capital fund which invests in start-up and for-profit enterprises in developing countries, but what is interesting for my present concerns is how this is also about nurturing an entrepreneurial disposition or habitus within which market relations, practices, and forms of personhood, are naturalised and invoked within and in relation to education and the moral agency of individuals, or *edupreneurs*. PALF describes this as ‘incubating’ or fostering a particular kind of ‘ecosystem’:

We are thrilled to bring this programme to entrepreneurs striving to develop businesses that enhance outcomes and access for low-income learners in India. We’ve seen a lack of early support and risk capital in the low-cost education space and we are pleased to take the lead in creating a robust ecosystem for impact-oriented edupreneurs and incubate innovative models of education, to dramatically improve learning at scale.

(Katelyn Donnelly, Executive Director, PALF, available at:

<http://www.vilcap.com/portfolio/edupreneurs>)

The interfaces between neo-liberalism, sustainable development and ecological reason, and their implications for bio-politics and government, are complex and multifaceted, and I am only touching on some of this here (see, for instance, Death, 2010; Duffield, 2008; Reid, 2013). In the context of this chapter, however, I suggest that the ‘nexus’ constitutes a claim to what life is, and a set of actions to optimize, improve and enhance it – a kind of *vital dispositif*. A new kind of bio-political body and governable subject is envisaged. On the one hand is the resilient body which can absorb shocks, pressures and stresses, and adapt and thrive, especially when environmental conditions are at their most challenging. On the other is the economic, risky, and moral neo-liberal subject of enterprise, innovation and responsibility, governable in as much as they are free to make their own choices, under the guidance of others, but also through fear (of the present, the future, the ‘other’) and loathing, and moral, authoritarian and performative activation and obligation – indeed, it is the market which now provides the means and the values for optimization and responsible bio-political conduct. O’Malley (2010, p. 506) makes the point that ‘[t]he resilient

⁹⁶ <http://www.affordable-learning.com/what-is-affordable-learning/Whyafund.html#sthash.Y1NTfVXj.dpbs>

subject must regard problems as challenges and opportunities, so that bouncing back is no longer about returning to a previously existing order', whilst Lentzos and Rose (2009, p. 243) add that a resilient form of subjectivity is to enable 'each and all to live freely and with confidence in a world of potential risks'. At the same time, however, the resilient subject is also the depoliticized subject, or the 'subject which must permanently struggle to accommodate itself to the world' (Reid, 2013, p. 355), as opposed to actively transforming or at least engaging politically and critically with the conditions, obligations and asymmetries of life in the present. Hence, this is


[n]ot a political subject that can conceive of changing the world, its structure, and conditions of possibility, but a subject that accepts the disastrousness of the world it lives in as a condition for partaking of that world and that accepts the necessity of the injunction to change itself in correspondence with threats and dangers now said to be endemic. Building resilient subjects involves the deliberate disabling of the political habits, tendencies, and capacities of peoples and replacing them with adaptive ones.

(Reid, *ibid*, p. 355)

It is in this way that resilience is not only a desired managerial and economic comportment, or quality of human capital (see **Part 2**), nor simply a technique of the self, as above; it forms a cornerstone of neo-liberal bio-politics. From this angle, resilience constitutes a form of *security* – a securing of *resilient subjectivity* – which plugs snugly and directly into, for example, the shift from government to governance, the *molecularization of life*, and the vital politics of self-ascription which I have explored above. That is to say that resilience 'resonates with an advanced liberal political environment' (O'Malley, 2010, p. 488) in which states retract some of their responsibilities for safeguarding and optimizing the vitality of their human populations; a process broadly articulated in 'welfare reform'. The neo-liberal co-optation of resilience – in both its ecological and therapeutic forms – also nourishes and adds vitality to a fatal conception of the state, and that is because the resilient person is fabricated and envisioned for a world in which the responsibility for security, health and well-being falls upon the individual and their capacity for self-management and self-care, and not the state. That is to say that resilient subjects are 'disciplined into accepting the idea that it is necessary for them to do that for themselves' (Reid, 2013, p. 359). This has implications for the bio-politics and governing of the teacher, as I have explored previously, but it is interesting to add

here, and very briefly, that a *Senior Officer* in the *Teach First Classroom Leadership Department* has established a company that provides training courses for foster carers (*Be.Fostering*) and different kinds of leaders (*Be.Leadership*). One of the courses offered is called 'Building Resilience'.⁹⁷

Building Resilience



Resilience refers to the qualities that cushion a vulnerable child from the worst effects of adversity and trauma. It may help a child or young person to cope, survive and even thrive in the face of great hurt and disadvantage. While it may not always be possible to protect a child from further adversity, finding ways to boost a child's resilience should enhance the likelihood of better long-term outcomes.

Specific topics the course will address are:

- Definitions of resilience
- Resilience and adversity
- The language of resilience

Figure 8.5. *Be.Fostering/Be.Leadership: Building Resilience*

The aim of the course is to learn about the 'qualities that cushion a vulnerable child from the worst effects of adversity and trauma', and which 'may help a child or young person to cope, survive and even thrive in the face of great hurt and disadvantage'. That is to say that 'boost[ing] a child's resilience should enhance the likelihood of better long-term outcomes'. At the Teach First conference, *Challenge 2012*, Sally Coates, the head of Burlington Danes Academy, even shared what she described as her 'surgeon's checklist' for school leaders, and invited the delegates to formulate their own. As 'surgeons' of the ethical, pathological and vital systems of disadvantage and educational failure, Coates argued that it was the responsibility of leaders to ensure that *disadvantaged children*, perhaps merely, have 'a *chance of survival and success*'. To reiterate the argument made by Teach First, cited in the previous chapter: *these pupils may need to be even more motivated and resilient to overcome the*

⁹⁷ <http://www.befostering.com/courses/resilience/>

barriers that they face. Reid's (2013, p. 355) conclusion on the implications of this for political subjectivity seems particularly appropriate:

Beyond showing how the discourse of resilience legitimates neoliberal systems of governance and institutions, it is also necessary to attend to the forms of subjectivity it attempts to bring into being. The account of the world envisaged and constituted by development agencies concerned with building resilient subjects is one which presupposes the disastrousness of the world, and likewise one which interpellates a subject that is permanently called upon to bear the disaster – a subject for whom bearing the disaster is a required practice without which he or she cannot grow and prosper in the world. This may be what is politically most at stake in the discourse of resilience.

Conclusion: towards a critical ontology of policy and power (and ourselves)

[T]here are two kinds of title – two grades, two orders. The first kind of title decides on a name for something that is already there. The second kind of title is present all along: it lives and breathes, or it tries, on every page.

(Martin Amis, 2003, preface 'note on the title')

Every page of this thesis has been animated by the qualification of its title. That is to say that each part, chapter, page and paragraph has 'lived and breathed' what can be termed a critical ontology of policy and power. This critical ontology has persevered in different ways and in relation to a variety of things. It has not only been analytical, but also subversive and transgressive. It has been at one and the same time empirical and fictive, historical and of the present. But what does this actually mean, and does it have any relevance and/or use today (and does that even matter)?

Although potentially disconcerting, a material post-structuralist approach to policy analysis begins by *suspending belief*. More specifically, it is underpinned, on the one hand, by a restless and excitable scepticism towards truth, and on the other, by an interest in the productivities of power in its coupling with knowledge. This is at once methodological and a stance towards history and the present. It is a perspective on what policy actually *is* and a particular *method* of policy analysis. It is a disconcerting approach because it makes no claims about the true nature of being and offers instead a view of the world and of things as inherently inauthentic. Policy, from this perspective, is but an outcome and effect of various forces and relations of construction and constraint. These relations and forces are historically contingent, meaning that policy is subject to variation and transformation, although its shifting forms are not always so different from each other in all respects, as I have tried to show.

It should be underlined that this kind of approach should not and does not paralyze us: either as policy analysts, political activists, human beings, citizens, teachers, or of any of the other ways in which we have come or been led to understand and relate to

ourselves, others and the world. To acknowledge inauthenticity is not to say that everything is bad but to trouble existing ways of doing things and the assumptions and truths upon which these are based. The point, therefore, is to subject discourse, in the fuller sense of the term, to targeted, painstaking and ironic critique. This is one of the things that I have tried to do. To acknowledge *our own* inauthenticity, moreover, is to think very carefully about what and who we are, that is, how we understand, relate to, and conduct ourselves today. This has a political end in that it is about prising open spaces to think about how we might be and do differently. If Foucault is right and we really are freer than we think, then the point must be to at least try and think differently. In other words, we should aspire, both individually and collectively, towards membership of what Guattari (2015) calls the 'group-subject' rather than the 'subjugated group'. Bogue (1989, citing Guattari, 1972, pp. 53-170) notes:

The subjected group 'receives its determinations from other groups', whereas the group-subject 'proposes to rediscover its internal law, its project, its action in relation to other groups'. The subjected group enforces traditional roles, concepts, hierarchies and modes of exclusion, engaging in 'a perpetual struggle against every possible inscription of non-sense', and refusing to face 'the ultimate signification of the enterprises' in which it is involved. Such a group constructs a group fantasy around an 'institutional object' that is never called into question, thereby granting the individual a parasitic immortality ...

This thesis has broadly explored different historical policy dispositions and, more specifically, the ontology of the education state and the teacher. It has deployed the 'methods' and 'sensibilities' of genealogy and critical ethnography, and in doing so has attended to some of the history of power and its insinuations in the governing and administering of education, itself a contingent, diverse and indeterminate practice. This has in part involved thinking about the state in a particular way, and that is as an amalgamation of different practices, techniques and strategies mobilised in the calculation and management of territories and their populations, and in conducting the conduct of individuals and collectives. The state itself is hence here viewed as 'mobile' and contingent, which again relates back to the methodological theme of variation, and such a perspective on the state also undermines some of the foundations of thought upon which various forms of state phobia have and continue to be

supported. Further research and thought could be directed, however, towards Dean's recent question regarding the ontology of the state (2013):

If the state is nothing more than a composite of techniques of government or a complex set of correlations, combinations and inscriptions between heterogeneous dispositifs ... then why does the local, immanent exercise of power keep referring to the state as a source of its authority and legitimacy, and why does it need to wrap itself in the symbols, traditions, hierarchies and topologies of the law?

As genealogy is targeted at something in the present, the varying and various analyses have been anchored upon the social enterprise and education charity *Teach First* and the form and conduct of the *Teach First teacher*. This has been about attending in an ethnographic sense to a specific location or site of policy performance and power, but it has also been about opening up a series of wider questions and avenues for critical enquiry. The practices, subjectivities and relations which have been identified and investigated have a far wider salience than their more local manifestations and forms in Teach First. Nonetheless, it has been by anchoring onto a specific site of policy performance and experience – a crucible of power – that an incomplete and partial, yet still detailed picture of the education state and at least one version of the teacher has been painted. This notion of painting is significant in that the thesis has deployed ethnographic description and *fiction* in order to render more visible the powers and forms of discourse, truth and knowledge which are brought to bear upon policy and its problems and solutions at particular times, and which are brought to bear upon *us* as living and social beings. Fiction is hence a critical device for exposing these powers of truth and fabrication which 'condition' the present (Koopman, 2014), and that is by confronting them both *in* and *on* their own terms – fighting fire with fire. Indeed, a number of problematizations and fabrications have been identified, interrogated, traced and conceptually animated at various levels of ontological abstraction, and hence Foucault's dual understanding of problematization has been a further key device of this thesis. That is to say that problematization is both a kind of historical practice of government which can be analysed, but also a form of critique which subjects these practices – their truths and self-understanding – to informed and sustained critique.

Throughout, however, I have been at pains to acknowledge, for critical and analytical purposes, the multi-modality and multi-dimensionality of power, which is to say that one of the aims has been to attend to some of the complexity of power relations today. Whilst I have been concerned with the ways in which education policy and, more broadly and intimately, society and ourselves are governed, I have also scrutinised some of the myriad different ways in which this endeavour is rationalised, enacted and made operable. Hence this thesis has not simply been a study in and of governmentality, but also of discipline, pastoral power and bio-politics, and even the continuing import of sovereignty in liberal practices of rule (Dean, 2007; 2013), at least in a modest sense.

Although in some ways the different sections of the thesis have attempted to isolate some of these different modalities of power, the overlapping nature of the different analyses perhaps indicates some of the difficulties in achieving such an enterprise. But I suggest that this also serves to illustrate that there is a 'much more complex topography of rule' (Dean, 2007, p. 84) which one must be wary of and alive to. It also reminds us of the proximities and interdependencies, but also the contingencies of freedom and control, autonomy and authority, coercion and consent, good and bad, vitality and fatality, truth and falsity. Indeed, it is in this sense that one of the things that emerges from this thesis is a renewed and necessary awareness of the authoritarian and violent practices with which liberal powers of freedom and autonomy appear to be imbricated and articulated. This includes the violences inherent in liberal practices of the self which imply

that one should form the image of oneself not simply as an imperfect, ignorant individual who requires correction, training and instruction, but as one who suffers from certain ills and who needs to have them treated either by oneself or by someone who has the necessary competence.

(Foucault, 1988c, p. 57)

It also includes those practices which divide populations in different ways, such as the identification and, hence, fabrication of those able or unable to manage themselves appropriately and effectively as part of a community and as subjects of freedom, rights and choice. Moreover, it has been suggested at various points that the form and obligations of the 'good' liberal citizen are bound up with and, indeed, rendered

intelligible only in relation to that which is considered *illiberal*, or *indispositional*. *Unfreedom* appears to be a necessary and vital correlate of liberal freedom and self-determinacy. It is suggested, therefore, that the *proximities of power*, including the hybridity of liberal practices of rule, may be brought to bear upon a cross-examination of liberal self-understanding which views and presents itself as a 'making safe' of power (Dean, 2007; 2013; Villadsen and Dean, 2012). According to Dean (2002b, p. 119), the ethos of liberal government

today requires us to link governing through freedom to the powers of life and death, the exercise of choice to the sovereign decision, the contract to violence, economic citizenship to moral discipline and obligation, and rights and liberties to enforcement.

A final word, then, on the micro-politics and ontology of the Teach First teacher. I have tried to illustrate how the *archetypal* and *programmatic* form of this teacher and the *policy vitality/ecology* of which they are a part, are underpinned by a series of immanent knowledges, capacities and obligations. This appears to take the shape of the post-Fordist and *hyper-performative* teacher – underpinned by a *signature* of neo-liberalisation – and a resilient and emotionally intelligent self who accepts and can survive and thrive in a malevolent and uncertain world, and adapt and acquiesce to its fickle and shifting demands. This is, we might add, a 'sustainable' form of policy life, and one which, at least in part, displaces, decommissions, or *disposes* the teacher of the welfare state. One is left to assume that the latter – its vocational-professional-social-political-collective-secure form – is now 'unsustainable'. The archetypal form is also animated by the spiritual obligations of the Pastorate, invoked in the image of a shepherd guiding or leading a flock to salvation. The Teach First teacher, like any other teacher today, leads a flock towards worldly salvation, and here there is a 'line of implication' (Dean, 2002a) to the Puritans, including their contribution to the practice of teaching and our understanding of the 'good liberal' subject and their obligations to self and others. But whilst the governing and governable subjects of the welfare state (the teacher, LEA, citizen, child, etc.) are problematized today as unsustainable, there is a certain sense in which the more sustainable Teach First teacher – individualised, flexible, agile, resilient, affective, depoliticised, technical, performative – is in part about *sustaining the unsustainable*. What this means is that Teach First manifests and

solicits a form of life and subjectivity – and an *ecology* – which embodies the constraints, insecurities and fears of the present, of the need to be risky and active, pumped-up and tough, durable and endlessly productive. It is also a form of subjectivity which, in its very design, nourishes and legitimises the violences of performativity within and beyond the education state. This is a form of life which is designed, in part, in the image of neo-liberal capital, and so is obliged and programmed to negotiate and exploit a policy milieu and wider social world of risk, hyper-activity, insecurity and disaster, and their associated ‘opportunities’ (i.e. for self-investment, exploitation and profit). But this is not simply the rational pursuit of economic gain, but also a moral mission of enlightenment, both for the self and others. Indeed, morality itself, including ideas of the social and public good, are now colonised by the virtues, values and calculations of the market.

Perhaps one way of looking at this is in terms of the consecration of a *new spirit of capitalism*. Max Weber referred to this as the ideas, dispositions and moral comportments which favour the rational pursuit of economic gain. He argued that ‘[w]e shall nevertheless provisionally use the expression ‘spirit of capitalism’ for that attitude which, in pursuit of a calling [*berufsmäßig*], strives systematically for profit for its own sake in the manner exemplified by Benjamin Franklin’ (Weber, 2002, p. 19). Rearticulating this thesis in relation to the present, Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) describe and invoke a ‘new spirit of capitalism’, which again refers to ‘precisely the set of beliefs associated with the capitalist order that helps to justify this order and, by legitimating them, to sustain the forms of action and predispositions compatible with it’ (p. 10). These authors are careful not to offer or assume an exhaustive and essential spirit, but nonetheless pinpoint some present characteristics, including some of those noted above, which ‘support the performance [and] ... adhesion to a lifestyle conducive to the capitalist order’ (p. 10-11). The dispositions, conducts and forms of subjectivity which have been identified and interrogated in preceding chapters, along with the various obligations to self, others and the world inscribed in the ‘good’ liberal citizen, characterize not only a new form life conducive for a new stage of capital accumulation, but are also bound up with the legitimation of such an existence and form of vitality. Teach First is itself just one small site of legitimation as it proselytizes on the fruits and virtues of the ‘good life’, and offers both pedagogical and spiritual support to its participants and ambassadors. This kind

of legitimation, then, 'must at one and the same time stimulate an inclination to act and provide assurance that the actions thus performed are morally acceptable' (p. 16), and I have explored this in a number of ways, such as Teach First as an affective, instrumental and moral technology of government. The participants and ambassadors, moreover, are in some ways new *cadres* (Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005, p. 15) of the post-welfare (education) state and neo-liberal capitalism (and education), who in turn must pass on the truths of salvation and self-fulfillment to the next generation, and particularly to those identified as vulnerable to failure and, hence, as a threat to order.

Over and above the justifications in terms of the common good they need in order to respond to criticism and explain themselves to others, as Weberian entrepreneurs *cadres*, and especially young *cadres*, require personal reasons for commitment. To make a commitment to it worthwhile, to be attractive, capitalism must be capable of being presented to them in the form of activities which, by comparison with alternative opportunities, can be characterized as 'stimulating' – that is to say, very generally and albeit in different ways in different periods, as containing possibilities for self-realization and room for freedom of action.

(Boltanski and Chiapello, 2005, p. 16)

What is clear, then, is that subjectivity is indeed a key site of struggle. It is by emphasizing this struggle, moreover, and by critically exploring the different sites and techniques, knowledges and truths whereby subjectivity is shaped, manipulated and called into question, including how responsibility is allocated, that an opposing set of strategies may begin to be formulated which are carefully targeted at the dangers of the present. It is perfectly reasonable to assume that this may be, *and is*, occurring within the Teach First programme itself, and this is a theme which deserves further attention.

This is a conclusion, but only on a beginning. There is more to do, but one must start by understanding the limits imposed on us first.

Appendix A: Research information sheet

Information sheet

Thank you for showing an interest in my research project. All social research must be designed and conducted in a way that upholds high ethical standards and which protects participants from harm. Please read the following information carefully and then confirm your consent to participate by reading the statements on the attached **Consent Form** and ticking the boxes accordingly. Please then sign and date the form, which I can collect from you at a suitable time. Two Consent Forms are attached: one is for you to keep and the other will be kept on file in my personal office. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me (see below):

- A) The research is forming a part of an ESRC funded PhD thesis and there is a possibility that parts of it may be published in academic research journals. Research findings may also be presented at academic conferences. The research is broadly concerned with exploring new routes into teaching, the education labour market, individual experiences and professional identities, and the intersection between the private and public sector. The main potential use of the research is to contribute knowledge to the education research community.
- B) In any outputs and publications from the research, the real names of participants will **not** be used. Instead, pseudonyms will be assigned to each participant. Likewise, any schools that participants have worked at will **not** be referred to. If schools are mentioned, pseudonyms will be created for these as well. These measures are to protect the identities of all participants and the schools which they work, or have worked, at.
- C) Any data collected, for example from interviews, will be treated with **strict confidentiality**. It is intended that any formal interviews will be audio recorded and that copies of the transcripts will be sent to participants to make any desired changes. However, participants have the right to refuse to be audio recorded. Data, personal information and contact details will be stored only on the researcher's private computer. No personal information or contact details will be shared with other people, organisations or third parties.

Researcher – Patrick Bailey (Institute of Education)

Email – pbailey@ioe.ac.uk or patrickljbailley@hotmail.co.uk

Tel: 07947280005

Appendix B: Consent form

Consent Form

Please read the following statements and confirm your consent by ticking the boxes accordingly. There are two copies of this form attached, please complete both. One is for you to keep, the other is for me.

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the attached information sheet relating to the study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles or presentations by the researcher.

☐

4. I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.

☐

5. I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Name

Date

Signature

Researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix C: Aide-memoire/interview schedule

Interview Schedule

1. Initial Involvement with TF

- Initial contact/how they heard about TF (leaflet, presentation, event etc.)?
- What reasons they had for applying (What were the most important factors, i.e. career, develop skills, moral, inspired etc.)?
- What initial reservations, if any?
- How was TF sold to them? What was it about TF that made teaching a viable/attractive option?
- Would they have considered going into teaching otherwise, and if so by a different route?

2. Summer Training

- Experience of the summer training camp?
- What did they feel was the main focus of the training (i.e. confidence building, classroom management techniques etc.)?
- What skills/ideas they took from the training?

3. Teaching Experience

- How prepared did they feel at the start?
- Any reservations/fears?
- How has the school experience been (any difficulties faced, positive experiences)?
- What skills and sensibilities do they now see as important for teaching?
- How have the relations with other staff been?
- Have they found anything difficult/stifling in terms of school/government policies?
- What have they taken from their teaching experience (i.e. skills, sense of giving something back, future job prospects etc.)?

4. Future Aspirations

- Have they decided what they will be doing after the second year, and what are the reasons for their decision (i.e. staying in teaching, moving on)
- Do they see any skills developed as being transferable to what they want to do in the future, and why?
- Reasons for doing the Leadership MA?
- What is the importance of leadership, particularly in an educational setting?
- Have they taken part in a summer internship – in what ways was this of value?

5. General TF Questions

- TF posits itself as more than just a teacher training institution. The idea is to bring about systemic change to raise attainment of disadvantaged children. In their opinion, what do they feel TF is all about and how do they feel it helps to tackle educational disadvantage?
- What do they feel about the Ambassador programme, and staying in future contact with TF?
- Have they attended TF conferences/training and career fairs? Why are these important and are they useful to them? (perhaps refer to the Leaders in all Fields Fair)
- Perhaps a couple of final questions:
 1. If someone asked your advice on whether they should apply for TF, what would you say?
 2. If you were able to influence government education policy, what might you suggest?

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